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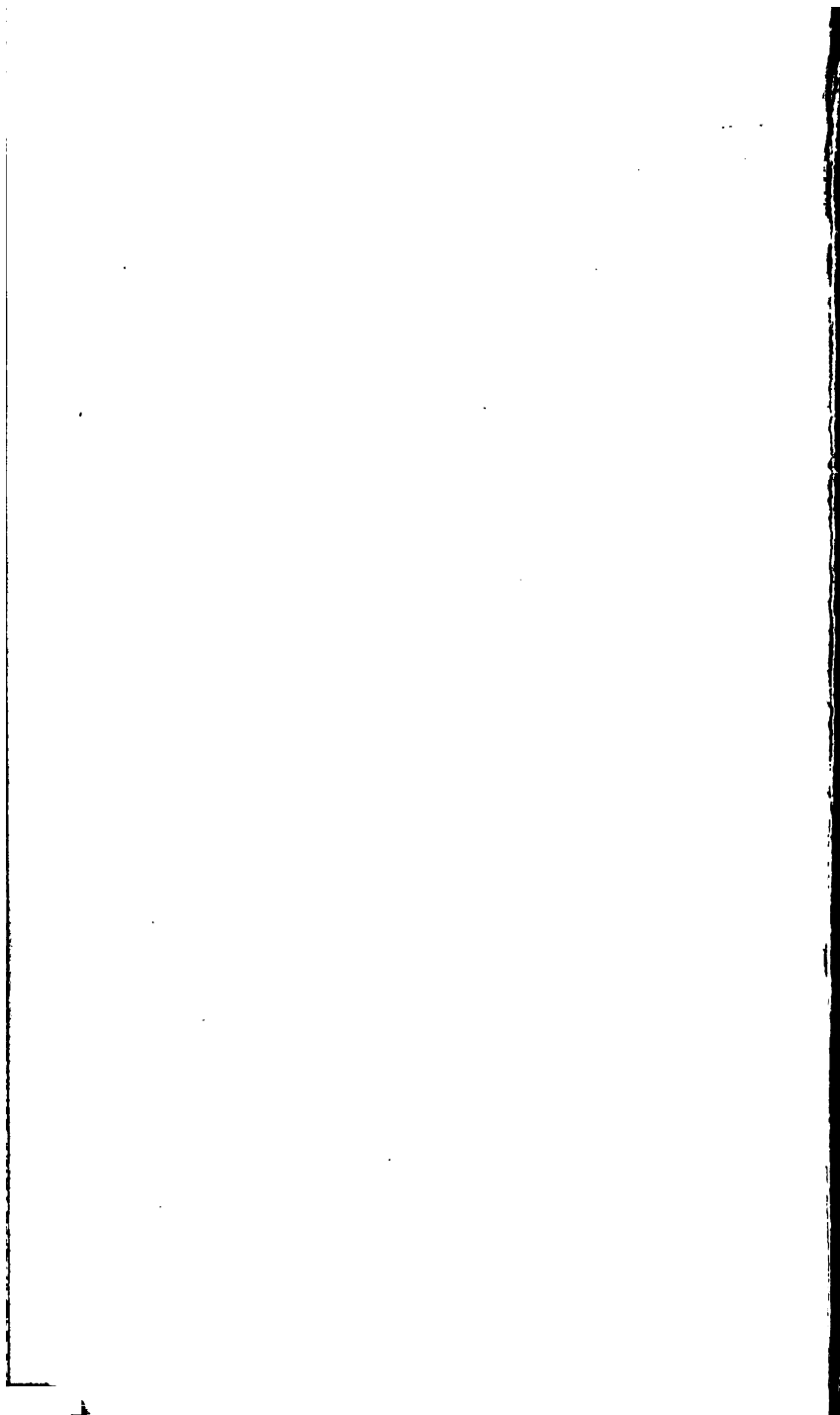


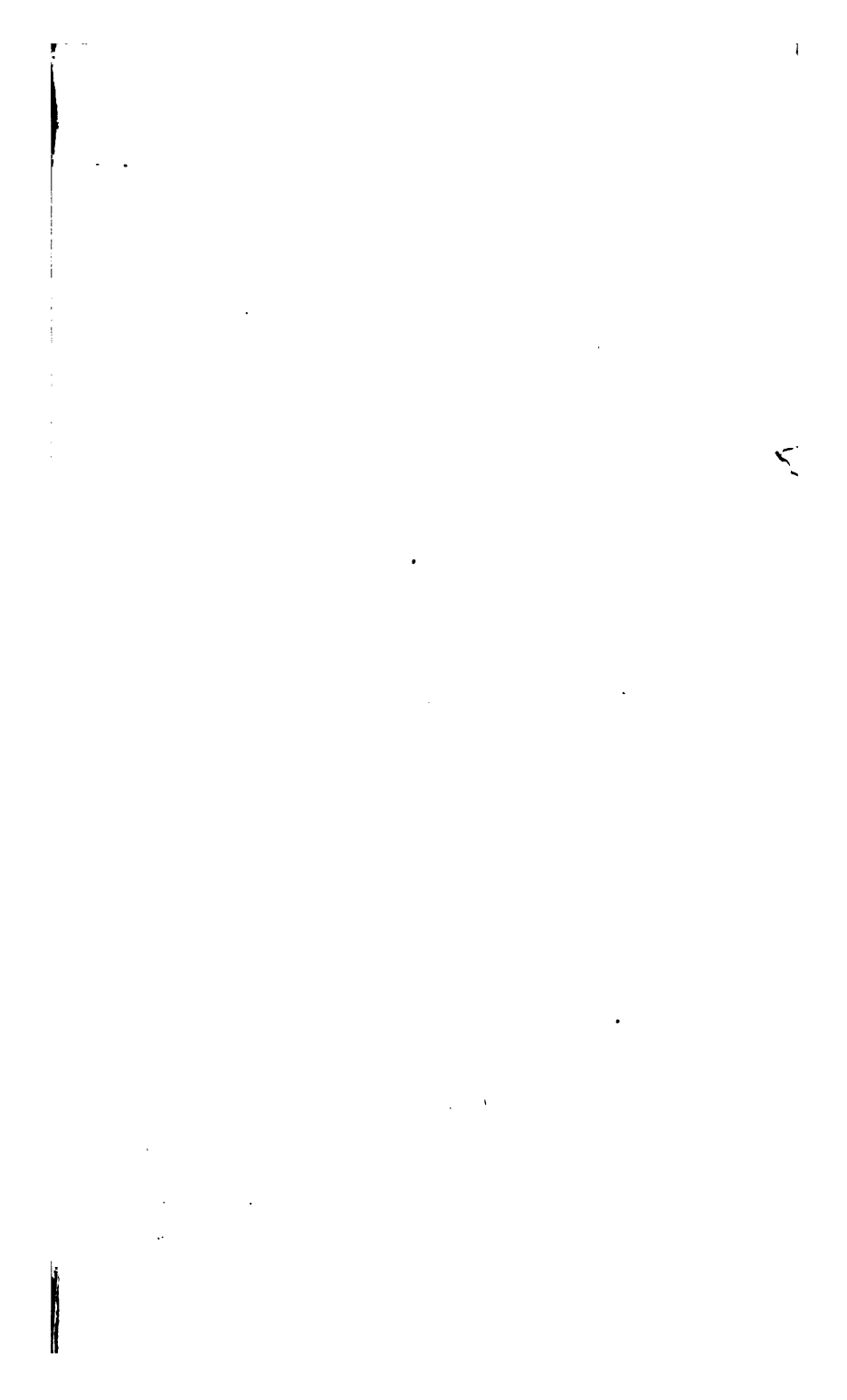
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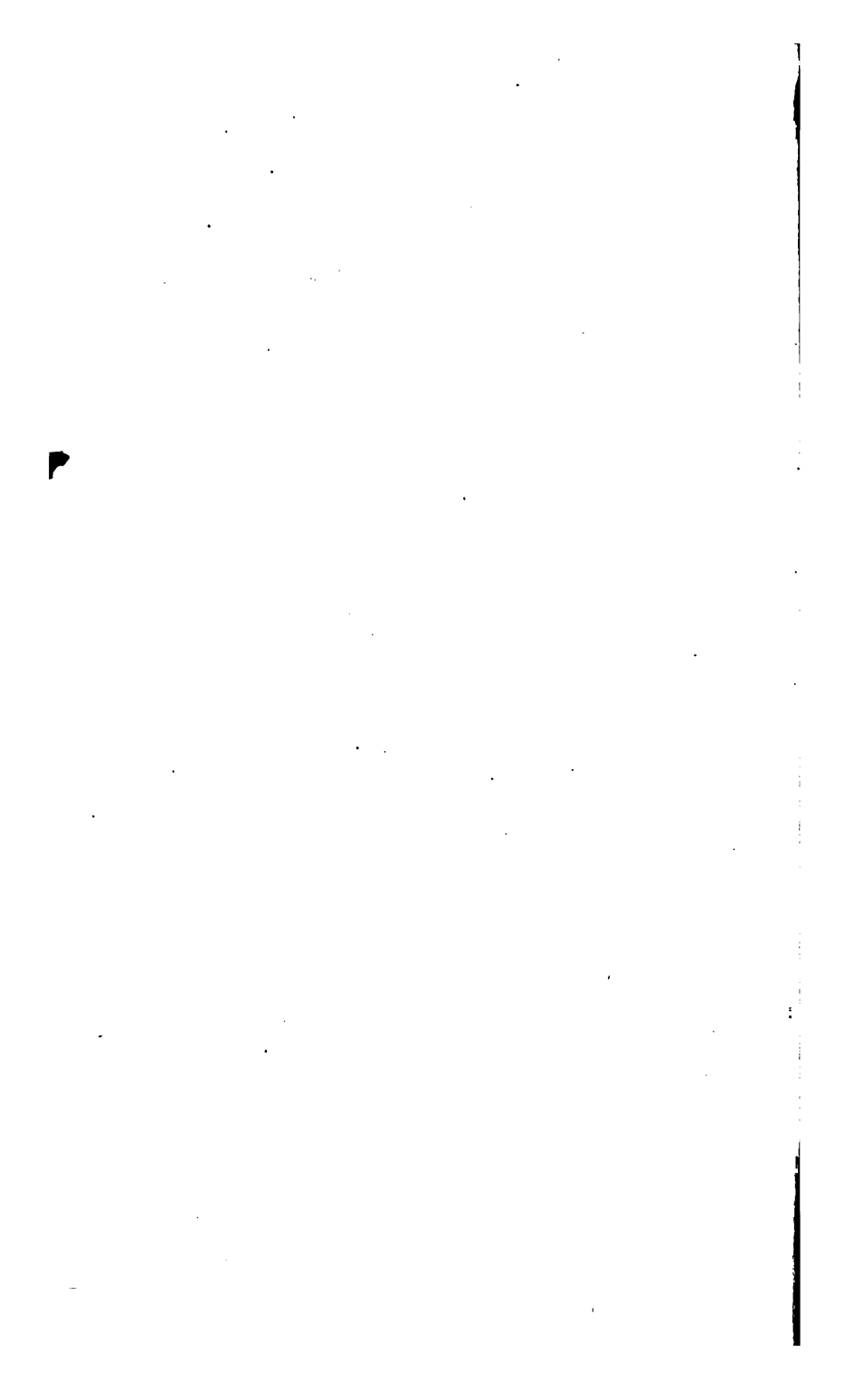




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PRIVATE LETTERS
OF
SIR JAMES BROOKE, K.C.B.

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THE
PRIVATE LETTERS
OF
SIR JAMES BROOKE, K.C.B.
RAJAH OF SARAWAK,
NARRATING
THE EVENTS OF HIS LIFE,
FROM 1838 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

EDITED BY
JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.
BARRISTER-AT-LAW, AND ONE OF THE MASTERS OF HER MAJESTY'S COURT
OF EXCHEQUER.

Nescio, quod certe est, quod me tibi temperat astrum.—PERSIUS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
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1853.

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PRIVATE LETTERS

OF

SIR JAMES BROOKE, K.C.B.

CHAPTER I.

MARCH 3, 1844, TO JULY 14, 1844.

No. 56.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

H. M. S. "Harlequin," March 3, 1844.

MY DEAR JACK,

3x THERE has been an unavoidable gap in our correspondence, which I am about to fill up, by giving you a full and faithful account of myself and my proceedings. On my return to Singapore, I fully expect to hear from you; and should there be matter requiring an immediate answer, I can send it apart from my present communication.

I left Borneo about Christmas, and passed some time pleasantly enough with my friend — at Singapore. In January, however, I was afflicted with the intelligence of my mother's death. You know how

dearly I loved her, and may suppose how greatly I felt my loss. After the first shock, I resolved to seek in activity a relief from the lowness of spirits which I suffered, and I accordingly accompanied my friends Hastings and Seymour to the coast of Sumatra, to demand reparation for some wrongs done to British subjects and British commerce. Our squadron consisted of H. M. brigs "Harlequin" and "Wanderer," and the Company's steamer "Diana." I was a passenger on board the "Wanderer." We visited Achin, the celebrated Malay capital, of which we have often read together. The place is in decay; the once potent monarch now unable to control or to punish his own subjects in the other rivers of his territory. From Achin we proceeded to Batu, and not gaining satisfaction, we burned the town. Our next visit was to Murdoo, where a vessel had been seized and plundered, and part of her crew murdered. The rascals were prepared for us, and we had five hours as pretty fighting as you would desire. We beat the enemy from point to point, and burned and destroyed as we advanced: but the country was thickly wooded, and afforded excellent cover for the enemy's musketry, which annoyed us considerably. In short, it was prettily contested, and we had several times to load and drive the enemy from their stockades. Having burned the place, we returned, under a galling fire, to our vessels; and though we accomplished all we were sent for, yet we could not well say that the Murdoo people

were either subdued or cowed. Indeed it is great odds against a small party of 150 men, to send them amongst a numerous and not unwarlike population, and in utter ignorance of the country in which they are to serve.

The Murdoo people were punished with the loss of their town, and had from fifty to seventy men killed or wounded, which loss arose chiefly from their standing in their stockade, instead of picking us off steadily from the jungle. On our side we had two men killed, and about a dozen wounded, most of them severely. Chads, the first lieutenant of the "Harlequin," was cut down by a native, and most seriously hurt, his left hand being nearly severed from his body, and his side laid open for seven or eight inches. I was likewise amongst the wounded, as in charging a stockade I got a spear thrust, which cut my eye-brow in two, a light but very bloody scratch, which has slightly injured my beauty; and at the same time a shot inside my right arm, which rendered me for the time *hors-de-combat*: my eye is now well, and my arm so well that you may observe that I write as badly as usual. This redoubted action took place on the 12th of February, 1844.

Behold me then a wounded hero, and I must confess that my vanity was flattered by the crew of the "Wanderer," who made a request to be allowed to cheer me, when I quitted the brig.

On our return to Penang, we found the Admiral,

(Sir William Parker) and Keppel. I was delighted to see the latter, and to hear that he was to command once more in the Straits, and that he was as eager as ever to carry on his operations against piracy on the Borneo coast. Sir William Parker was polite, I might almost say kind, and I believe he has done what laid in his power to advance my views. The "Cornwallis" and "Dido" have proceeded to Calcutta. "Wanderer" is on her passage to England, and I am now on my way back to Singapore, in the "Harlequin." So my escapade has ended. I was glad of the opportunity I had of seeing the political state of Achin, as it has fully confirmed my views, which I made known to Sir —, of the steps necessary to protect and enlarge our commerce. Achin, like Borneo, is now in such a state of distraction, that no security can be found for life or property. To protect our trade we must *make a monarch*, and uphold him, and he would be a British servant *de facto*. This would not be difficult, nor would it be expensive. It is astonishing, however, how complete is the ignorance of the Singapore authorities, as to what regards their foreign policy. I know not where the fault lays, but it is lamentable that we are unacquainted with the characters, and often with the names of men who are ruling rivers, and cheating, plundering, and murdering our subjects. Nor do the authorities know the parties which divide the native states and by knowing the factions (for they be as factious as ourselves) which

exist, we could always raise the better and depress the worse, or in other words support those who will benefit ourselves.

Singapore, March 6th.—Yesterday, my dear Jack, we arrived here, which I was right glad to do, being tired of the heat of a vessel, though as nice a one as a man could sail in. The news from Sarawak is excellent: all quiet and tranquil within, and without only a moderate stir amongst the pirates. I am very glad to tell you that at length I have redeemed fifty women and children of the Sow Dyaks from slavery, and something more than the same number still remain in slavery. I have a great mind to send you the letter which I wrote to ——. I consider now my part as played, as far as the Government is concerned, and I do not wish to stir more until it resolves on its measures. I should like much to see the line of policy I recommended carried into effect, and my late trip to Achin has confirmed me in its absolute necessity for the protection and preservation of our trade.

It is so long since I heard from you, my dear Jack, that I feel anxious to get letters again, and the worst of all is that at this season the communication overland from Bombay is so uncertain, that I know not when I may expect the pleasure of seeing your hand-writing. The November mail arrived before the October, and only on my return yesterday I got *the* letter. The news of my mother's death has afflicted me greatly, I try as much, as I can to banish the subject from my

mind, but it is yet powerfully recurring, and I must trust to time for that relief, which time alone can give. You know how I loved her, you may guess how I mourn her; all my other news are very good, but like a spoiled child I seem to value as nothing other subjects, or blessings as they ought to be called. I really look homeward with desire, if only to see you again. I have a great deal more to say, but I must write again, as my ideas are confused. I am in a bustle, and my arm is a little sore. God bless you, accept all my best wishes, offer the kindest regards to your lady, write to me as often as you can, although I almost hope the scarcity of your letters may result from the increase of business. Kind regards to Prior, your sister, and all the party at Bridport, and ever believe me, my very dear Jack,

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

If you have the Dyak paper by you, keep it until you hear again.

No. 57.

THE REV. CHARLES JOHNSON.

Singapore, April 17, 1844.

MY DEAR CHARLES,

MANY, many thanks for your two letters of December and January, which reached me within a few days of each other. The accounts altogether are

very satisfactory, although in your last letter you complain of not being very well ; I trust, however, it is only one of those passing clouds of which you accuse me. Your domestic picture makes me long to return amongst you again, but as you will not let me come back, I shall implicitly obey your commands, till as you say, I can do so with perfect security. I shall neither call you mad or dull any more, for from your recent letters I do not think you are galloping as fast as you did at one time. I am most anxious that one way or the other some settlement should be made with the Government, that they should say Aye or Nay. The continued state of suspense is very cruel, and very disadvantageous both to me and the country, for everything is at a stand still till the instructions of Government are known. * * * * *

I have little news to tell you, I wait here now for the "Dido," expecting her daily, and on her arrival I propose going over in her. We shall have a steamer in company, and give the pirates in my neighbourhood a final routing out. I heard of Sarawak not long since. It was quiet and prosperous. The French are evidently increasing their squadron in these seas, and are desirous of forming a colony, as also are the Belgians and the Prussians. I have written this letter in the most desultory style, but promise another more satisfactory soon. I have for years had a little history of some pets, written for the young folks, laying by me, and been too lazy to copy it. As you

seem pleased with the little detail of our *life and manners*, I will try and sketch them for you soon. Love to dear Emma, and ever believe me, dear Charles,

Yours affectionately,

J. BROOKE.

No. 58.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.

Singapore, 19th April, 1844.

MY DEAR JACK,

AFTER a drought of mails for some months, they are pouring upon us, and I have left a bare chance of answering your last by the May mail from Bombay.

Yesterday evening I received yours of the 5th of February, together with *one* of Mr. Wise's, mentioning the receipt of ——'s report from Borneo Proper. Wise says, that the report pronounces that the coal is all "*balderdash*," as it is not workable, and that the Sultan of Borneo is a "*savage*." Before noticing these points I must tell you that there were two reports made to Government by ——; the first on Sarawak, the second the one to which you allude as having been received. The first of these reports was favourable, and ought in justice to me to have been accompanied by a letter, which, at ——'s request, I addressed to him. Where is this first and favourable report gone to? Was it not received by the last September mail

from Bombay? I shall, however, forward you by this opportunity, a copy of the letter to —, as it will put matters in a clearer light than they otherwise would be, and show you how very little stress I laid on the coal. I will likewise, for your amusement, enter into a history of these transactions. — passed one week in Sarawak, several days of which were spent up the river. Upon this cursory examination he made his first report. At this time, he learned from me that “the sultan was an idiot, ruled by every vagabond about him.”

When we reached Borneo Proper, the small-pox was raging in the place, and prevented that frequent communication which could have been desired; and I may add to this, that — was in a violent hurry to reach China, as was most natural he should be. He met the Sultan of *Borneo* *once* for about two hours, during which time he never *once spoke* to him, either directly or indirectly! and yet upon this knowledge he pronounces the sultan a “savage.” The history of the coal is rather more extended. It is now many years since, that two missionary gentlemen resided in the town of Borneo Proper, one Mr. Dickenson, an American, the other, Mr. Tradescant Lay, now, I believe Her Majesty’s Consul at Canton. These gentlemen saw the coal bed on the Kiangi river, which is near the town, and some eight or nine miles from Pulo Chermin and Pulo Ka’Ingarrang. They reported this in Singapore; and likewise of the existence of coal at

the above islands. Before going further, I must tell you that natives in general and the Borneons in particular, are jealous of showing you any part of their country, and more especially the minerals, from which they expect to derive the most unheard-of advantages.

To examine, therefore, this country, or the basin in which the town stands, it would have taken some little time and patience, and a few presents into the bargain, to induce them honestly to point out the places where the coal had been found.

When — was at the anchorage, he examined Pulo Chermin and Pulo Ka'Ingarrang, and found coal, but not workable. There is a better and more self-evident reason for the little value of *these islands*, namely, from their size; they would not, if altogether formed of this black diamond, supply a large steamer for a year. You might as well think of forming a judgment of the coal beds in Northumberland, by making a report on the islands of the Derwentwater Lake. And yet this, in melancholy truth, is the sum of all —'s enquiries in Borneo; the ground—the broad extended ground—upon which he has reported. He has not ever seen the locality which first attracted the attention of Messrs. Dickenson and Lay!

The question then at present is this: There is coal in the neighbourhood of Borneo Proper, and — has found it on two little islands at the entrance; but the size of these islands, and the inclination of the strata renders exact locality of no use. Further than this we

know nothing. You advise me to call for this report! If I do, will they give it to me? I doubt. What use would it be, if I procure it from the Admiralty? I have always gone upon the broad and beaten ground! I have never misrepresented or exaggerated; I am convinced of the advantage of the policy I advocate. I have developed it in a measure, with means all people thought inadequate to the purpose. If expense be the sole objection, what expense need be incurred? The same man-of-war or steamer which is situated in Singapore, can manage Borneo and preserve our friendly relations. If the Government enter on the field, *tant mieux*. If not, their own wisdom ought to preserve this field from rival powers; and how easily can it be done; how inexpensively in the way I have pointed out. That the French have their attention turned hitherward, I verily believe; that Belgium desires a settlement in the Archipelago, I am sure; and I know that — would take Sarawak; the offer was made through —, by a Consul-General of that country. Remember it is not in my power to prevent the establishment of a foreign nation, if they come down with presents and flattery. To end, I will never become a party to any anti-British establishment (for they are all anti-British); but I cannot find it in my heart to become a suppliant, and I am very reluctant to enter into any controversy upon minor points with — or any one else. I am firmly established. Keppel's presence on the coast has a most beneficial effect. I

am as coolly indifferent personally to the decision of Government as I well can be, but I am deeply desirous for the sake of the natives, and for their own, that they should do something.

If they decide ultimately, that it is better no assistance should be offered, I shall have done what I consider right, and give the Government credit for doing so too. And if at any future time, they change their views, they will find me faithful to mine, and quite ready to sacrifice any personal advantage, or any hopes for the attainment of a permanent state of things.

I am writing against time, for the vessel which sails at twelve (and it now wants but a quarter), the last chance for this mail. Huzza, for the clients. Why do you not look out for the Recordship of Singapore, either now, or after the next vacancy. Snug—little to do—well paid—genteel pension, &c. &c. Will you be a Wilde or a Follett? I don't like hard desk work. I like couches, and flowers, and easy chairs, and newspapers, and clear streams, and sunny walks. I will write more next mail. No "Dido" yet. I have really nothing more to say, except on a vast number of matters relating to all sorts of things.

Ever your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

I cannot send a copy of the report now, but will by next mail.

No. 59.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Singapore, May 1, 1844.

MY DEAR JACK,

HERE is the letter, which you may use as you think best. I will try and wind up my resolution to write a fuller account of my part of the coast, political, geographical, and statistical; and, coming with ——'s survey, it will enhance the value of both. As for the craving after personal adventure which the public exhibits, it is so unwholesome an appetite, that I shall not gratify it. At present a man must have a region of vanity encroaching upon the territory of other faculties, who can coolly sit down to write about his own deeds and dangers by field and flood. Is not this vanity the very France of the world? When I return home, perhaps I may seek an exaggerating brush, and give to the public some of the high-coloured pictures of modern writers. Moonlight and forest—wild Dyaks—snake-like proas—night assaults—showers of spears—demoniac yells—hairbreadth escapes—blood and wounds, &c. What a glorious field for a lover of cant! and then to be the hero of one's story! What would a modern lion or tiger want more?

I have just received intelligence of the death of the Hon. Erskine Murray, of whom you have doubtless

heard. He fitted out two vessels in China, and came to Borneo, in order, as it was said, to form a settlement. He touched at Sambas, and thence proceeded, it appears, to the east coast of the island, and went into the Coti, or Gooty river.

The subsequent information was forwarded by a Captain Spralty, of the whaler, "Cyrus," to this effect. At Coti, Mr. Murray opened negotiations with the sultan for the cession of some portion of land. The conferences went on for twenty-one days, when the sultan, being prepared, threw off the mask, and attacked the two vessels, which, after thirty-six hours fighting, escaped with difficulty out of the river. Mr. Murray and several of the crew were killed. *It is curious* that this information comes from Menado, on the northern part of Celebes, to which place the two vessels proceeded. Of course we have no account of the behaviour of the crews of these vessels, either at Coti or elsewhere. Taking, however, the facts in the most favourable light. I can only say that a rash and undigested adventure has terminated as might have been expected.

Coti is notoriously the worst and strongest river in all Borneo. Major Müller was cut off there with his escort, in his attempt to penetrate from the interior of the Coti river to Pontiana. The British brig, "William," was likewise taken in this river, and it was of the sultan and pangerans that Mr. Dalton speaks in such very bad terms. The population is a fierce and warlike one, being partly Bugis and partly a mixed

race between the Bugis and Malays; and these Bugis are a very different people from the Malays.

It appears that this unfortunate gentleman ascended *this river*, and opened his mind to the sultan and panggerans, giving them to know that he was seeking a country wherein to settle, which he expected they would cede. Their jealousy would be roused to madness, and acting upon their piratical habits, would induce them to attack so formidable a force. The two vessels, a brig of 250 tons, and a schooner of 90, were completely armed and manned with Europeans, so you may imagine it was no light fighting which drove them away with a severe loss, and precluded their holding their own ground, or revenging themselves; and I have taken the case in its most favourable bearing. The Dutch are mustering a large naval force at Macassar, to attack the Illanuns with vigour. The efforts of the Dutch government for the last two years have been very praiseworthy, and they have done a vast deal of good by destroying some large fleets of pirates. It is said that the father of a young Illanun chief, killed last year, has sent a challenge to the Dutch admiral, offering to fight him if he will come out again! You see how entirely I have filled up my paper, so adieu.

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. If my uncle writes you for the enclosed letter, let him have it.

No. 60.

MRS. JOHNSON.

Singapore, May 3, 1844.

MY DEAREST SISTER,

YOU are very good people for writing to me so regularly and so fully, and I ought to be equally good in replying to your communication, but you must remember I am by nature lazy, that I have a large correspondence, and above all, a thousand distractions to prevent my writing as often as you deserve.

Of late I have had very little to tell you, and in truth Singapore furnishes no ingredient for a letter. It is a dull place, and my acquaintance is very limited, though agreeable. I have no gossip to relate, and as you do not know a soul here, you would care little to hear about them. How then is a letter to be filled except on the sweet subject of self. Let me tell then that I am well and hearty, that I eat one dinner and one breakfast a day, and go to bed generally at an unreasonably late hour. This, since my return from Sumatra, has been the course of my daily existence, and really if I foresaw that I was to be doomed to the like, for any length of time, I should find wings and return to England. At Sarawak it is different, for there I have to distribute justice, to make excursions among the Dyak tribes, to see that they are not injured or aggrieved, and to attend to the foreign policy of our

neighbouring rivers. I have, above all, the sense of being a good boy, and of being of use to my fellow children, which gilds existence and satisfies the cravings of imagination. I look with such a comfortable feeling upon the improvements going on around me—every clearing that is made I look upon as my work—every house that springs up, owes its foundation to me—they minister all to my satisfaction, and when I witness the contented faces, and know that the people are secured from rapine and extortion, I chuckle inwardly, and devise new schemes of advancement for my adopted country. Sarawak, indeed, to me, is like a foundling which at first you protect with hesitation and doubt, but which foundling afterwards repays your cost and your trouble. It is wretched to think, however, that my example and my success should become the bane and the death of others who follow in the same steps. A few days since information was received that the Honourable Erskine Murray (of whom you have heard) had, together with several of his people, been killed in the Coti or Gooty rivers. This river you will find in the maps on the east coast of Borneo, and nearly over against the Dutch settlement of Macassar in Celebes. Mr. Murray wrote to me several times on the subject of joining me, but as I gave him no encouragement to do so, he gave up that scheme, but resolved to form a settlement for himself. To carry this resolve into execution, he fitted out two vessels, a brig and a schooner, well armed and manned with Englishmen, and sailed

about November last from China. I last heard of his vessels being for a few days at Sambas, and the subsequent information was forwarded by the captain of a whaler, called the "Cyrus," from Menado, a point on the N. E. extreme of Celebes. The account is as follows:—Mr. Murray had gone into the Coti river, and held several conferences with the sultan about having a country or territory ceded to him. He stayed there twenty-one days, when the sultan being prepared, attacked the two vessels, which were compelled to quit the river, and did so at last after thirty-six hours fighting. In the action, Mr. Murray and some of his people were killed, and subsequently the vessels proceeded to Menado to refit. Since then they have not been heard of. Thus ended a rash and ill-advised adventure, which was conducted without reference to the character or temper of the natives, and might, had it been pursued here, have led to worse events than have now occurred. The river Coti is notorious for its piratical practices, and the people there are chiefly a mixed race of the Bugis and Malays, fierce, courageous, powerful, and piratical. Yet this was the spot chosen for the site of a new settlement! I have no doubt the jealousy of the chiefs was roused to madness by a stranger demanding land from them. If we look upon the adventure in another light, we can readily perceive, that had it been persisted in, worse consequences might have resulted. Mr. Murray was a poor man, having two vessels on his hands, and sixty or seventy English sea-

men on pay at high wages. Had he formed a settlement as he desired, it must have ended badly. Land does not spontaneously yield grain. Minerals are buried in the bosom of the earth, and require money to find and dig them out. The natives are shy and wild, and like beaten dogs apt to snap through distrust. Confidence is not built up in a day. How then was Mr. Murray going to maintain himself; it must have been by some course of oppression of the natives.

I write you all this in detail, my sister, because you may, the event having occurred in Borneo, consider it as applicable to my case, or as premonitory of my fate. I have no doubt many sagacious blockheads will so conclude, and yet in truth there is no similarity in our positions. I am no more affected by Mr. Murray's proceeding at Coti, than I am by the death of Mungo Park in Africa. Be therefore quite easy on this head, and do not get foolish whims put into your minds, by folk who know nothing about the matter. * * *
Farewell, dearest sister, and ever believe me

Your dear and affectionate brother,

J. BROOKE.

The following memoranda, and which have been selected out of a great number in the Editor's possession, will show how earnest were Mr. Brooke's efforts to ameliorate the condition of the Dyak tribes, by watching their interests, and arbitrating their disputes.

Memorandum for Mr. Williamson on his visiting Sadung.*

IN proceeding to Sadung, you will note well the condition of the various Dyak tribes, and note down the name of each tribe, and obtain from the Bandar, lists of all the tribes in the river under his government.

The object of your visit is to observe, rather than to make any positive promises for the future, but you can say much in the way of encouragement to the Dyaks and Malays.

Represent that their grievous oppressions, viz. the forcible seizure of their wives or children, the forcing goods on them at exorbitant and unjust prices, &c. are abolished; and that in case any persons whatever commit these crimes, they must complain to the Bandar, and subsequently, if necessary, bring their complaint to me. Point out at the same time, that they must contribute to the support of the Budrudeen, and that both Dyaks and Malays must pay yearly a just sum to the Borneon government, the amount of which yearly payment will be fixed hereafter. The payments of a yearly revenue (say at first from three hundred to five hundred reals) will free them from all other demands and exactions from Brunè Nakodahs, or followers of the rajahs

Insist upon the freedom of trade, represent the ad-

* This gentleman acted as interpreter. His melancholy death by drowning is recorded in a subsequent letter.

vantage of fair dealing, and strengthen the hands of the Bandar as far as is consistent by assuring him of my support, as long as he acts justly and properly.

If time allows, visit Malikin, and the place whence the "Samarang" got the specimen of shale, and get for Mr. Williams all the specimens, which can be procured of the geological or mineral productions.

Formerly I obtained a specimen of black appearance, resembling coal, from the interior of Sadung. I trust to your judgment and discretion during this mission to establish our influence, and to give a proper impression of our justice and fair dealing. At Samarahan you will take the same course as at Sadung.

THE *Tuan Besar** takes the Dyaks of La Nankan, and those of Tumma, who have come to the Tanah Sarawak, because the Tuan Besar receives all persons who come to Sarawak, and gives them protection; all persons can trade with those Dyaks, and no one can injure or oppress them. The Dyaks of Samarahan are not to be governed from Sadung, and no charge is to be made from the time of the Rajahs of Borneo. When they get birds' nests from their usual caves, any person who goes amongst them to oppress them, the Tuan Besar will have seized and fined, and if in future any person doing mischief amongst them, should be killed by them, the Tuan Besar will consider such persons

* The native name for Sir James Brooke, literally interpreted, "The great man."

rightly served. Any persons who injure the Dyaks, who sell them unjustly, or seize their property or children, will meet with the Tuan Besar's anger, and all Dyaks who are ill used in their own country, and seek better government in Sarawak, will meet with protection and safety.

THIS letter is from the Tuan Besar, of Sarawak, to Bandar Cassim, to inform Bandar Cassim that the Dyaks of Samarahan have complained that they have received orders from Sadung, that they are not to trade with any other person but Bandar Cassim, at the same time balls have been sent, to let them know that they will be attacked, if they disobey.

The Tuan Besar writes to acquaint Bandar Cassim that the country of Samarahan is not under the government of Sadung, and that the Bandar has nothing to do with the Dyaks there. The Bandar must send and take back the balls, and not interfere with the people of Samarahan, whether Malays or Dyaks.

The Tuan Besar tells Bandar Cassim likewise that the Dyaks of Si Nankin and Tumma have removed from the Sadung territory (Tanah Sadung) to the land of Sarawak, and will be in future under the government of the Tuan Besar.

If Bandar Cassim's government is good, the Dyaks of Sadung will not leave their country, but if the government is bad, and the property and children of the Dyaks are taken away, all the Dyaks will leave Sadung

and go to other countries. All Malays and Dyaks who come to the country of Sarawak, the Tuan Besar will take care of, and all the people, Malays or Dyaks, who wish to leave Sarawak and go to any other country, the Tuan Besar will not prevent their moving ; for the Dyaks, like the Malays, are not slaves, nor do they belong to any person, and they can always choose in what country they shall live.

The Tuan Besar has received the Datu Patingi's letter about two slaves ; the Tuan Besar has followed the custom in fixing a price for them, forty for the man, and twenty for the woman, which money the Tuan Besar sends by the Nakodah, together with some things.

Sketch of an Agreement between Sangow and Sadung.

THE Bandar Cassim and the Rading, on the part of Pangeran Paduka, agree that between Sangow and Sadung, no discussion shall take place respecting the Dyaks, and that each country shall retain what it has got at present without reference to the past. What is done is done, neither party looks back, both parties look forward. On the subject of trade, the road through Sadung, either up or down the river to Sangow, shall be open, and no duty shall be imposed in Sadung by Bandar Cassim, or any other person for the space of two years ; and moreover, Bandar Cassim will not hold himself, nor shall he allow any other person to hold a monopoly for that space.

It is understood clearly by both parties, that in the conveyance of the goods across land, or by water, the Dyaks are to be paid, and one party will not interfere with the Dyaks of the other.

No. 61.

THE REV. C. JOHNSON.

Without date, but written about
May, 1844.

MY DEAR CHARLES,

I AM serious : I really have serious thoughts of returning home, and between six months and two years hence, you may listen to every unexpected sound of wheels, which may disturb the Lackingtonian quiet. The Government assent or dissent has been so long postponed, and is likely to be so much longer, that I shall go on just as if I had already received a magnificent no ! I hate this state of suspense. This suspension between heaven and earth, this reliance upon the decision of a parcel of people who know nothing. Wise is wise again and quite rational, as I have destroyed some of his high raised chateaux d'Espagne. My great distress at this present time is the detention of the "Dido" in Calcutta, which prevents my return to Sarawak, as my schooner, the "Julia," Captain Douglas, has already been despatched. Keppel promised to be back by the 20th of February, and here

we have entered the merry month of May, without any tidings of him, except that he is laying in the Hoogley.

Do not fail to write me as often as usual ; your letters afford me pleasure, and your tableaux of the family party bring me among you once more. I have nothing more to add, except that I am

Most affectionately yours,

J. BROOKE.

No. 62.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.

Sarawak, June 18, 1844.

MY DEAR JACK,

I AM seated in my new house with the windows wide open. The house itself stands on a rising ground and the river flows below ; it is surrounded by beautiful foliage, the scent of flowers is wafted in, and my eyes rest on the pleasant prospect bounded by high mountains of my own domain. All breathes of peace and repose, and the very midday heat adds to the stillness round me. I love to allow my imagination to wander, and my senses to enjoy such a scene, for it is attended with a pleasing consciousness that the quiet and the peace are my own doing. I could inflict upon you an account of every individual tree which has become a favourite. All so different from anything you ever saw, that the description might even be

interesting, but the lord of the soil and the owner of the house is ill at ease, and as he looks upon the fair scene, he is devising means to continue it in prosperity.

Of late I have had little to tell you, except to repeat that the Malays and Dyaks were quiet and content, and indeed the growing confidence of the latter, and the gradual advancement have been a source of continual satisfaction. The aspect of affairs is altered, however, lately, by the conduct of Sheriff Sahib, who has set up his standard and resolved to oppose me. To make the matter clear, I must go into a brief geographical detail. The next river to Sarawak is Samarahan, with a weak and peaceful population. Then comes Sadung; next to Sadung, Batang Lupar, which divides into Linga and Sakarran, and next Serebas. Sheriff Sahib, as I have told you before, is a great rascal and a pirate, who lived in the Sadung river. His power is based on the numerous Dyak tribe of Sakarran, which, for its own convenience, follows him. These Dyaks of Sakarran are the fellow tribe of the Serebas, equally blood-thirsty and equally piratical, but even more dangerous from the intimate relation with Sheriff Sahib, who has long been in the habit of gaining good information for them, and assisting them with a few Malays with fire-arms. On their expeditions by land and sea, whatever plunder or slaves are taken, is divided into two portions, one of which belong to Sheriff Sahib, the other to his Dyak

colleagues. In this way much mischief (an amount frightful to think on) was perpetrated, whole tribes were cut off by land, and numbers of boats by sea. My advent stopped the worst of these crimes, and Keppel's attack upon Serebas last year, nearly put an end to it altogether. In a year and a half Sarawak had not lost a Dyak cut off, and their security was in proportion, when Sheriff Sahib's machinations have brought a fresh storm on this devoted people. Sheriff Sahib last year trembled at the conquest of Serebas, and I doubt not from that time had resolved to retire to the Sakarran river. When I went over to Singapore, he began his preparations, and by the time I returned, they were complete. His boats were built, and, computed at the lowest, two hundred Dyak boats had joined him, his Malay fighting proas amounted to about eight, and other boats to about fifteen. Had he merely removed, there would have been little pretence for molesting him, but his fleet ravaged the shores and the seas, took boats and killed men; at this very juncture I stepped upon the stage. This vast piratical body were gathered together at the mouth of the Sadung river. Keppel in the "Dido," as you already know, promised to come over, and finish the good work of last year, and I waited for him in Singapore, but unfortunately the "Dido" was sent with a treasure freight to China, and — of the "Harlequin" kindly gave me a passage across. On our arrival, and directly I became acquainted with the circumstances,

I wrote to — to ask him to give three days to this attack, and proposing to join him with five boats. Unfortunately again — was under orders to meet the “Wolverine” in Singapore, and then to proceed to England, and on these orders he declined acting against these pirates, when mustered in such force, that one blow would effectually have crushed them! I cannot help (though I esteem the man) deploring his decision. Three or four days given to this service would have given the pirates, both Malay and Dyak, a lesson which they would have been years in forgetting. The opportunity was neglected. The flood which leads to fortune was allowed to glide past, like any other sluggish tide, and Sheriff Sahib, under my very beard, retired to Sakarran, for I had not force, except in a desperate case, to attack him. Sheriff Sahib retired to Sakarran, and the Dyaks directly came out in every direction. Their first attack was on some Sambas Dyaks, where they got licked. They then attacked a Samarahan tribe, then burnt eight villages in Sadung, and last of all, and for the first time killed two Dyaks of Sarawak. They did not kill them and get off scot free. On Wednesday at noon they cut off a farm of our Singi tribe—at eleven at night we received the intelligence, and at two, four boats dropped down the river to intercept their return. On Thursday morning the boats got off Tanjong Po, and waited all day without success, but at night a heavy sea running, and a squall coming on just as

they were about to seek the shelter of a bay, the three Dyak boats came right on them, seeking the same shelter; the action or rather the chase commenced, and in the squall the Dyak boats were driven into the surf and one capsized; our boats were, however, full of water, and obliged to return for shelter, and when the weather moderated, the Dyaks had disappeared. Everything from the capsized boat was found floating or washed up on the beach, swords, spears, shields, mats, &c. &c., and as their shields and stern ornaments of their boats were pretty well riddled with grape, there is every chance that they suffered considerably, besides the loss of property.

I need say nothing as to my feelings, at seeing these poor Dyaks cut up, at having the trade injured, and our general sense of security destroyed; yet on the whole, save the loss of the opportunity mentioned, I am glad that the struggle should take place, and that Sheriff Sahib and his Dyaks have resolved to fight, and have committed themselves so boldly by acts of piracy.

I have well considered the subject in its different bearings, and my chances of great success are as follows:—1st. The Government may come to a favourable resolve, in which case the lesson must be taught to these pirates as the first measure. 2nd. Keppel (unless some unforeseen event happens) is certain to come here, he is interested in this coast; he has seen the frightful amount of piracy, and is willing to act.

I have written him to bring all the force he can muster, and of course, whether with "Dido" alone or with "Dido" and "Wolverine" together, we are certain of taking them, whether by land or by water. 3rd. The same may occur through ——. To make assurance doubly sure, I have ordered a good gun-boat in Singapore, and if none of the chances turn up in my favour, I shall *blockade* the Sakarran river, prevent mischief at home and bring the enemy to terms by shutting out that great necessary, salt. Thus you have my little history, and you may observe that good and evil are now fairly pitted against each other, Heaven help the right! I am glad of it; and this business once over, we shall for the future hear no more of piracy, except from a distance. The only misfortune is the loss of life amongst the poor Dyaks and from the mode of warfare of the Sakarrans it is impossible to guard at all points: You may now imagine how restless I am, how I reckon each day that brings succour near—how my thoughts are unceasingly employed upon the engrossing topic.

24th June.—I had scarce laid my pen down, when accounts were brought of a large body of Dyaks being out on the 19th; I dropped down the river, and in the evening we entered the narrow river of Sangi, where we fell in with, and fired on an enemy's boats. We were greatly in hopes of having entrapped a force, but the next day we found on advancing that we were mistaken. The day following we still advanced along

the coast, and captured one boat of the enemy; on the fourth day we got back, and may now from this demonstration, remain quiet for a few days to come. I expect "Julia" (my new schooner) daily, and have news from a Malay boat that the gun-boat was nearly ready for sea; she will be of use not only against Dyaks, but against the Illanuns, who occasionally infest the coast. The Balanigni this year are very strong. My letter is already a long one, and I shall now lay it by until the arrival of the schooner, when I expect to hear from you. Our party here is well, and agree remarkably, and they are really such agreeable and amiable persons that I consider myself very fortunate. The only exception to this was —, my man of business, who has been showing some temper and a good deal of jealousy of the new comers. He is now returning home on sick leave, and — supplies his place. Peter gets on excellently well—quiet, civil, and active; it is a pity he cannot read, for without it he cannot advance further.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

The Grove,* 14th July, 1844.

MY DEAR JACK,

I WROTE the accompanying letter last month, taking time by the forelock, and I have little more to

* The name of Sir James Brooke's residence in Sarawak.

add, except that we wait impatiently for "Dido," who is coming. Wise, by his letter of the 6th April, mentions having had an interview with Lord —, and appears to have acted with moderation and judgment during it. Lord — seems disposed to assist us with a sloop, and some name (as British Resident) for me; this will do famously. I am not to drag Her Majesty's Government into a second New Zealand scheme. I have only suggested to Wise, and suggest to you, that a small steamer would be cheaper and more effective, or if that cannot be, two (or even one) gun-boats such as at Singapore. I have ordered one and will lend her for nothing, if I may man her, or Government will man her. Your kind letter of the 4th April! need I tell you how sincerely I rejoice in your expected prosperity, and how constant a source of satisfaction it is to learn of your domestic happiness. If the first is not, the second may be called Brooke,* and you may be sure I will love him for his father's sake, till he has some personal claims upon me. I am happy too to learn so good an account of all the family branches of your paternal tree.

For ourselves I have nothing to add, except that I hope in two or three mouths to drop all my commerce into the hands of Ruppel, Hentig, Steward, and Wise—if he likes; at any rate, he will get the agency. From what I have seen lately, and heard likewise from good

* This refers to the expected birth of a child.

authority, I am inclined to give him every credit for sincerity; but he has been very sanguine. With a stated sum I can reduce all my establishment and turn my attention to other branches of revenue.

Your ever sincere friend,

J. BROOKE.

CHAPTER II.

NOV. 17, 1844, TO APRIL 4, 1845.

No. 63.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.

Sarawak, Nov. 17, 1844.

MY DEAR JACK,

AT length I am at home, and have time to reply, in a hurried way, to your hurried communications of July and August.

I wait with some impatience and curiosity for the mail of September, when I think it probable that I shall receive some communications from the Government.

I have just returned in the steamer "Phlegethon" from Borneo and Ambong. I went up in the "Samarang." We took Muda Hassim to Borneo Proper, and established his authority there; and at the same time I got from the sultan and him, the offer of Labuan for the Government. I intended originally to have reserved this document, and only to have used it in case it became necessary; but as —— wished to forward it, I could have no objection to his doing so. It can do no harm, and may do good. —— is most favourable this year to forward my views, and I be-

lieve he has written in high strains ; with what effect we shall see hereafter. Labuan we examined, and it is an island well fitted for a Government establishment ; and I think such an establishment would be politic and cheap, and could not fail of doing good.

The coal question is satisfactorily settled, as I found plenty of coal near the city of Borneo Proper, and — found it *in situ* on Labuan. This is my news in brief, and at present we are very busy here, from the disorder consequent on Muda Hassim's departure, many claims having to be adjusted.

I trust a press of business will cause your letters to be short, dear Jack, and that I may only expect the longer ones during the holidays. My kindest regards to your lady and all my friends ; and believe me, with best wishes,

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. I will try to write a longer letter soon.

The following is an interesting memorandum, showing how Mr. Brooke proceeded in the object he had so much at heart of mitigating the rigours of slavery :—

Memorandum for the Patingi, Bandar,* Tumangong,* and the respectable Inhabitants of Sarawak, on the Rajah's departure.*

THAT no discussion can be held about persons coming to Sarawak, as all persons within the country

* The native magistrates at Sarawak.

will find protection, whether Malays, Dyaks, or Chinese, excepting criminals or run-away slaves.

That as the prosperity of a country, and the consequent increase of its population, depend upon good government, many persons, Malays and Dyaks, will leave badly-governed countries, wherein they are oppressed, for Sarawak ; but as we receive all persons, so the inhabitants at Sarawak are at full liberty to leave the country and go elsewhere.

Regarding slaves (more especially the slaves left behind by the Pangeran Muda Hassim), the following rules will be observed :—

1st. That all slaves shall return to their proper masters, or, in other words, to the masters they belonged to before the war, except such slaves as have been wrongfully acquired.

No person bought from a pirate is to be considered a slave.

2ndly. The Rajah Muda Hassim has left a document in my hands, granting me permission to free all or any of the slaves left behind. In any case, therefore, where the right in any slave or slaves is not clear, or when any dispute arises between two parties, the slave in dispute will be set free.

3rdly. The rajah's document including all slaves without exception, no declaration of any parties that gifts of particular slaves were made by him, previous to his departure, will be attended to, unless supported by the seal of the rajah. All slaves are to return to their former masters ; but should any slave or slaves

have a decided repugnance to his master, he may be bought by any other party on the payment of a just price, according to the customs of the country.

In Sarawak, all persons acquiring slaves wrongfully will themselves lose the money paid, and the persons so acquired will become free. Dyaks taken in future from their homes in other rivers, and sold, will become free on arriving in Sarawak.

N.B. Run-away slaves are now required to make their appearance in Court, when demanded by their masters; and the Patingi fixes a just price, which any party may pay. If ill-usage of a slave be proved, the slave has a right to change his master.

The next step will be to declare all slaves who run to Sarawak free. Slave debtors can be released upon payment of their original debt.

Run-away Slaves.—Danah, boy (found); Ralwan, Bongroo, Tuah, Sawan, men; Boongua, woman; Koohtong, child; Ranit, Tunich, women. All set free.

No. 64.

CAPTAIN THE HON. H. KEPPEL, R.N.

Sarawak, Nov. 23, 1844.

MY DEAR KEPPEL,

MANY thanks for your kind letter just before you sailed, and I must answer you equally shortly, being at present suffering from a fit of the shakes—not severe, but unpleasant.

Herewith are the depositions. I would not get more, as these are so conclusive.

The news may be briefly told. All continues quiet, and Sarawak has increased by five thousand families of Malays, since your departure, chiefly within the last month, however. Sheriff Sahib is at Santang, in the interior of the Pontiana River. Sheriff Muller, up the Batong Lupar, four days' journey : he has applied to me to allow him to come back, which I have refused, as far as I have anything to say, and discouraged. Sheriff Jappa has left Linga, and is about, *with my permission*, to settle at Sheriff Sahib's old place, Sangi. — told you all about the translation, or transplantation, of Muda Hassim : he established his influence in Borneo.

Labuan, for the objects of government, as far as I hear them, is superior to Sarawak, more central, more commanding, possessing coal, and isolated. — talks large now of two or three establishments. I conceive this out of the question ; and if for Sarawak or Labuan your measure be carried, it is as much as I expect.

This will reach home, and, perhaps, a longer letter, before "Dido" reaches Portsmouth. My kind regards to all shipmates with you, and believe me ever, my dear Keppel,

Your sincere friend,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. I am struggling with the shakes. My head is not clear, nor my eyes ; so you must manage to decipher as you can.

24th.—You may fancy my regret, when last evening Hentig returned me all the journals he took for you. Perhaps my letter has shared the same fate, instead of being forwarded by “Wolverine” to Penang.

If you want the journals after you arrive, let me know, and I will forward them by some safe conveyance.

Besides this I have very little to say. At present we have the “Ariel,” and daily expect “Julia” here. Our society has been enlivened lately by a little German missionary, who, with all his religion, is transcendental and disputative; and we have some curious clatter of words on entity and nonentity, fate and free-will, and other topics, which are discussed without benefit and without end. Charley Johnson wrote me a long letter; and though he does not say much, it is evident he is not well pleased with leaving “Dido.” I do not expect to see him again here, as “Wolverine” will most probably return home in a few months.

Poor old “Didos,” where will you all be by the time this reaches her captain? Scattered in every part of the globe. And where shall I find any to carry out your measures? Well, well! as you say, it is all for the best, and we will try to think so. That all tends to ultimate good I doubt not; but that the process is always pleasant is doubtful. I want to drive my coach faster; but yet there are such clogs on the wheel that it is impossible. I will not say much about Sakarran, because I have not yet been able to meet the Dyak chiefs. Sheriff Sahib is at Santang, quiet and well-

behaved. Sheriff Muller I have desired civilly to remove there likewise ; and the Dyaks are certainly prepared for submission : but you must bear in mind, and urge, that the very impetus you have given prevents our standing still : we must progress or retrograde.

When to the northward with —— I got excellent information of the Balaninis—their nation, number, locality, &c. How long are they to be allowed to infest the seas? I could write on, but my paper is finished. Adieu.

No. 65.*

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq

Sarawak, Dec. 31, 1844.

MY DEAR JACK,

YOUR short and cheering letter of August, detailing your interview with Lord ——, together with a longer document from Wise, rendered me I confess sanguine, that something would be done for Sarawak and that speedily, but the solitary communication from Wise, dated September, which reached me recently, has again deferred all prospect of a conclusion to this tedious negociation. It is now likely to drag on its weary length for another year, much to my injury, and much to the detriment of British

* This letter was by the Editor read to and left with the First Lord of the Admiralty, and it was afterwards read by Sir Robert Peel.

interests generally on a future day, should the Government finally resolve on adopting my views.

The cream of Wise's communication, was contained in a note from Lord ——, the substance of which is to the following purport. 1st. I may obtain a diplomatic appointment, or I may become a confidential agent of the Government, and if Labuan becomes a British post, Sarawak will consequently be protected, which is a non-sequitur. Over and above this, the papers relative to Borneo, had been sent to Sir Robert Peel, and were under the favourable consideration of Government, and I might expect to hear of a gentleman being appointed to report on the coal of Borneo.

Evidently Lord —— wished to say something, but was too cautious to say much, and therefore it is not possible to arrive at the intentions of the Government, or fair to form a judgment on the subject. One thing is certain, that coal is to be the test, and I have nothing to do with coal, and therefore I consider myself a party unconcerned in the result, except as it may influence the Government.

Another point is, that the Government are suspicious, and place very little confidence in me—they probably expect some job to be hidden beneath the surface of moderation! I am not surprised, for they have no particular reason to place confidence in me, more than any other stranger; and as for a job they have doubtless too many presented to their notice under specious

pretences, not to expect one on every occasion. I shall convince them, however, either one way or another, that I do not seek to perpetrate any job, and I dare say if we come to any communication, that time will gain me confidence. I am surprised, however, that they say, they do not understand my intentions. Independently of my published letter, I thought they had had my intentions and wishes dunned into them. My intention, my wish, is to develop the island of Borneo. How to develop Borneo is not for me to say, but for them to judge. I have both by precept and example, shown what can be done, but it is for the Government to judge what means, if any, they will place at my disposal. My intention, my wish, is to extirpate piracy by attacking and breaking up the pirate towns—not only pirates direct, but pirates indirect. Here again the Government must judge. I wish to correct the native character, to gain and hold an influence in Borneo Proper. To introduce gradually, a better system of government. To open the interior. To encourage the poorer natives. To remove the clogs on trade. To develop new sources of commerce. I wish to make Borneo a second Java! I intend to influence and amend the entire Archipelago, *if the* Government will afford me means and power. I wish to prevent any foreign nation from coming on this field, but I might as well war against France individually, as attempt all I wish without any means. Yet i'faith, I am told my intentions are not known. I have been

sincere enough ; I have offered to serve without pay, though every labourer is worthy of his hire, and on the Government demanding, I offered to surrender Sarawak without remuneration, though I have laid out 10,000*l.* in its development.

The truth is, the Government do not know what to do, they are pottering about coal and neglecting far greater objects. Coal there is, the country is a coal country, but when gentlemen are sent to make specific reports, it is not known that great difficulty exists in finding this coal, and that the search, in a wild country, will occupy months, or else the report will be imperfect. The general fact ought, combined with other objects, to decide this question, but to attain a certainty on all points is impossible, for how can I enter the lists as an honest man, and swear that the results are certain. The results depend upon the means employed and the wisdom with which those means are used, but how can any rational man proceed beyond a rational hope of success. Many do, or rather I ought to say, most do ; and directly a plan is afoot, out fly glowing prospectuses, which deceive the public, and very often the authors. Most schemes, colonial and others, begin with a bubble more or less extensive, the evil consequence of which is felt long after. New Zealand, for instance—it began with a million capital—money flew in the desert—townships and streets were to be built or building—paid servants by scores. Everything had to be transported across the

Atlantic. It was a colony which was to spring up like a mushroom. I hope it may be an oak at some future period ; but let the bonds speak to its success ; money wasted and people ruined is the first result, and this result is, because (although New Zealand be a fitting place for a fine colony) matters were pushed too fast. The beginning of our recent colonies has been in a forcing-house, whereas a quiet development by nature's means is overlooked, and yet it was by those means that America was peopled. I cannot go on scrawling on this subject, but surely my intentions have been known from the first, and if they be not trumpeted from Exeter Hall, or vamped up by a false prospectus, a board of directors with an attendant train, and a succession of good dinners, they are not the less solid, the less advantageous, or the less feasible.

It is easy for men to perform fine feats with the pen ; it is easy for the rich man to give yearly thousands in charity ; it is easy to preach against the slave trade or to roar against piracy ; it is easy to bustle about London and get up associations for all kinds of objects—all this is easy, but it is not easy to stand alone—to be exiled—to lay out a small fortune—to expend life, and health, and money—to risk life itself, when the loss would be without glory and without fame : this is not easy, and if, in making the comparison, I feel and express some scorn, you will excuse me, and the comparison animates me for the future. God will judge us, and I am content. I am enabled to dispense hap-

piness and peace to many thousand persons. I stand alone; I appeal for assistance and gain none; I have struggled for four years, bearing my life in my hand. I hold a commanding position and influence over the natives; I feel it my paramount duty to gain protection and some power. I state it in so many plain words, and, if after all I am left to my own resources, the fault of failure is not with me.

This negotiation with Government is nearly at an end, or if protracted, if I perceive any intention of delay, or any coolness, I will myself break it off and trust to God and my own wits, for I will not have half-and-half backers, and I will not have the timidity of the Cabinet or the dissensions of its members extended to me. If they act cordially, they will either give me a plain negative, or some power to act, in order that I may carry out my views. If they haggle or bargain any further, I will none of them, or if they bother me with their suspicions (confidence is the soul of honesty) or send any more gentlemen for the purposes of espionage, I will assert the independence I feel, and send them all to the Devil.

Here, dear Jack, you have a long letter, pretty fresh from the heart, somewhat indignant, and containing all my suspicions and surmises. After all it may turn out better than I anticipate; but you must allow that delay is vexatious and injurious, and this great unknown, who is about to proceed to Sarawak, a great bore and inconvenience. One thing I will say, that if

the Government acts wisely and requires a long time to make up its mind, they ought, pending their decision, to send a man-of-war on the coast occasionally, or a steamer, and though not granted to me, the captain might be instructed to listen to my advice. Otherwise the native mind is kept in a state of fluctuation and doubt, and our influence in Borneo risked. Gallant Keppel!! If I had him and the "Didos," I would ask no more! He has acted whilst others have been deciding. He has struck a blow at piracy, which has done more good than any number of ships have done in the Straits. He has knocked at the door of the pirates. He has made them feel something of what they inflict, and this is the only way to deter the natives from piracy!

I cannot write in too glowing terms of Sarawak. It is an important place, and now that Muda Hassim has been honourably transported to Borneo, and Sheriff Sahib and his piratical Dyaks, driven with dishonour from the coast, the population has increased vastly; and there is a spirit and confidence which is pleasing to observe. I live quietly in my new house, and daily transact business in office, where I dispense justice for four or five hours a day. Trade, too, prospers; you may judge what it might have become, when I inform you, that yesterday four hundred dozen of white plates were sold, and to-day one hundred dozen more, and the demand above the supply. These very plates have been for a year unsold, because the natives would not,

or dare not come so close to the rajah's residence. Three hundred pounds' worth of English goods have been sold in three days, and shows that peace and confidence have had their effect. The same may be said of the two evil tribes who, since Keppel's attack upon them have been anxiously seeking a reconciliation, and Serebas has so far obtained it, as to be allowed to trade ; and Sakarran has promised to behave well, and the chiefs only wait until I can receive them. Here, at once, had I means, I could readily open these two rivers Serebas and Sakarran, with their twenty thousand or thirty thousand inhabitants to free trade, which they have never before enjoyed, and through them, I could encroach on the interior by slow and gentle means. I am confident I could effect this, had I the means at my disposal ! Can you then not make allowance for my gnashing my teeth, when I see this promised land, and see it to no purpose. I cannot but deplore the delay and the caution which leaves me weak and powerless ; for, after all, what is asked ? As I said before, an occasional vessel would do, and there are steamers laying idle at Singapore. No more of this.

1st January, 1845.—Many, many happy new years, my friend, to you and yours, and as you gather round the fire, you will I trust cast a thought on the Borneo rajah and the English exile. I have a few days since received a large box from my sister, containing many melancholy memorials, which has made me think more of home, and cast a sadness over my mind. These

memorials of the loved and departed have brought to mind the days of youth, when hope was bright, and reflection whispers, that perhaps I have lived too little for the perfect cultivation of the affections. We are however the creatures of impulse and fortune, and could we recal the past, it is most probable that what has occurred, would recur again in living over again. I do not feel that I have much to reproach myself with, towards my family, for we have always been a happy and united family, and on looking back I cannot remember one serious misunderstanding that ever occurred amongst us. I cannot recal harsh words, angry looks, or unkind actions, and I, the most wayward in disposition of them all, was not inferior to them in affection. This has been a great blessing, and I thank God for it, and in looking back to the past, in gazing on the likenesses of the lost, in reflecting on their virtues, I am sad and melancholy, but it is sadness unmixed with pain. Faults I have, enough, but I have rarely sinned in affection. This is a melancholy theme for a new year, so I shall not continue it, but leave my letter till to-morrow, when some new current of thought will drive across my mind, which you will have the full benefit of, to the extent of another half-sheet. I cannot begin 1845, without asking you "Have you read the 'Ode to *The 45*'?" The century is complete. and I pulled out my "Collins" the first thing in the morning, to admire "How sleep the brave."

2nd January, 1845.—I have a little business still to write of. Firstly, to keep you acquainted with my affairs, you must know that I have offered Ruppel, Hentig, and Wise, a monopoly of antimony ore and opium for the yearly payment of 2,600*l.* sterling. The antimony ore to the amount of one thousand tons yearly, the opium, ten chests, for the sum named; every extra ton of ore is to pay 2*l.*, and every chest beyond ten, 50 dollars (I think). This will enable me to get on without the distractions of trade. There are other sources of revenue which I may improve: at any rate, this is enough for a few years, for I greatly desire not to demand any taxation from the Malay, and only the nominal tax at present paid by the Dyak. In freeing them from other taxation, my monopoly of ore becomes neither oppressive or wrong, and as I pay double what they ever got before, the poorer classes of natives are benefited rather than injured; yet with all this, it is faulty in principle, for it is not free trade. However, I must live, and governments must be paid one way or another, so it is rather necessity than judgment that decides the question.

Keppel you must know, and I dare say he will call at Greenwich, when he has leisure, after his arrival. He has carried home with him, half of my journals, kept ever since my departure from England; the other half, by a mistake, remained behind, and I forward by this overland mail. I have given him full permission to use them, crude and uncorrected as they be, for I really

have little desire for literary distinction, which is scarce worth the trouble it costs ; and the information which is new, may be promulgated without trouble to me. Had it not been for the interest he took in the subject, and the praise he gave to the journal after reading it, these books would have been found in my drawer after my death !!

I shall write to Keppel about you, as I write to you about him. He is a noble fellow and my friend. I wish he would push his interest and get appointed my colleague. You see I have only room to send my kind regards to your lady, to wish you both many years' happiness : to send good wishes to all old friends, and to sign myself,

My dear Jack,

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

No. 66.

CAPTAIN THE HON. H. KEPPEL, R. N.

Sarawak, Jan. 4, 1845.

MY DEAR KEPPEL,

YOUR last adieu from Malacca Straits made me mournful, for you may believe I am loath to part from you, spite of your naturally anxious desire to get home as soon as possible. It is so seldom that in my situation, I am blessed with the society of persons I can talk to, that I the more regret parting from you

and the "Didos," and this is a personal feeling independent of all substantial considerations. Your letter, however, complained most plaintively of my not sending you the remaining portion of my crude journal, and I really was as sorry as you could be, that it did not reach your hands. Had you been in a downright passion with me, I should have minded it the less, but you reproved me so kindly that I felt it the more. My conscience, nevertheless, clears me from reproach, as you shall hear, and you will find that I was not afflicted with a fit of indolence, and, in sooth, that I did all you required of me. Now for a plain tale. The journal and the depositions were sent to Singapore in the "Julia" when "Wolverine" was waiting for them. Unluckily, however, I for greater safety and certainty entrusted them to the charge of Hentig, who, knowing the contents, and that I set some value on them, resolved he would only deliver them into your hands, so I had the mortification of receiving them from him, on his return to Sarawak. I shall not be beat though, for by this opportunity I forward the journals overland, directed to you, under care of my agents, Messrs. Cruickshank, Melville, and Co., Austin Friars. The depositions have been previously sent, and will reach home as soon as "Dido," and the journals will, I trust, be in your hands within two months after. A word about these journals—you know they are sadly crude and unconnected, but such as they are, I trust them to you to do with, as you like,

and you can always obtain the judgment of your brother, and other competent and impartial judges, as to the advisability of making parts of them public. You know that I am idle and desultory, (some folks consider me a miracle of industry and bustle), and consequently must expect many parts, which I have merely sketched, and intended at some future day to fill up. Contradictions you will find by dozens, because as I grew in knowledge of native character, my first impressions were corrected. Above all, you will find some very bad writing, which I fear will puzzle you, and my dread is, unless you refer to me, for proper spelling of names of people and places, that from my penmanship, many or most will be misspelt. I mention these matters, but the journal is yours, and except for the interest you took, it would probably have remained in my drawer till my death.

I do not intend entertaining you with a long account of the negociation of the Government carried on through Mr. Wise, because you will see Mr. Wise, (who is a clever fellow), and he will tell you all about it. It is clear to me that the Government expect a job to peep out somewhere, but in this, I think, we shall disappoint them. They certainly are not inclined to be liberal, either with money or assistance, and whether Sarawak or Labuan be ultimately decided on, they will have as small a post as possible. It is impossible, however, at present, to divine their intentions, and even the news of the Sakarran attack may affect

their minds. I have written home strongly, that I desire you for a colleague, provided you can be persuaded to accept it, and I may say, if they make you Governor of Labuan, I should not mind, but I will not willingly allow any other person to fill that appointment but myself.

Sarawak prospers wonderfully well since Muda Hassim's translation to Borneo. A vast number of people have come here, houses are springing up, trade flourishes, and the antimony is in full work. I have offered the monopoly of this ore to Ruppel, Hentig, and Wise, on the payment of 2,600*l.* yearly for a thousand tons, and 2*l.* per ton for every ton beyond that amount. This will leave me free from trouble, and enable me to live quietly on the hill-top, unless you come to aid the removal of the town to Santobong. How I desire that you come? Though I am not known to Mrs. Keppel, you must nevertheless offer her my kind wishes, and should we meet, I should feel that it was not quite a meeting of strangers. Farewell, my dear Keppel, and believe me your sincere friend,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. You must see my friend John Templer, who lives at Greenwich, and is married to a daughter of Sir James Gordon. His town office (or chambers), is at 10, Farrar's Buildings, Inner Temple. He has plenty of paintings and drawings, which you may like to see or use. Take care of the originals, for they are

not mine, or at least I promised to let the clever little author have them again. Show Templer the journal if he has time to read it. Farewell—10th January.

No. 67.

THOMAS WILLIAMSON, ESQ.

H.M.S. "Driver," off Borneo River,
February 24, 1845.

SIR,

You will be good enough to proceed to Borneo, and to intimate to the Sultan and Pangeran Muda Hassim, the arrival of Captain Bethune and myself as bearers of a complimentary letter from Her Majesty's ministers. You will be readily able to ascertain the political aspect of affairs in the city, and to quiet any needless alarm arising from the timidity of the sultan, by sincere and general assurances of the good will, entertained towards him and the Borneo government, by the authorities at home.

At the same time you will see the necessity of great caution, and you will carefully abstain from all allusion to ulterior measures, and in reply to any questions which may be put regarding the possession of Labuan, you will generally state that that measure, however desirable to Borneo, is not at present in contemplation.

You will induce Pangeran Budrudeen to accompany you to the steamer, in a native boat, in order

that we may properly translate the letter addressed to the sultan, and at the same time you may intimate to the authorities, that every circumstance of respect must attend its delivery.

Should any unforeseen events have occurred since my last visit, which should threaten the success of the present mission, you will at once return aboard Her Majesty's steamer.

I am, sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. BROOKE.

The following letter was received at this time by Mr. Brooke, from the Sultan of Borneo:—

Copy of a letter addressed to James Brooke, Esq., from the Sultan and Pangeran Muda Hassim, dated 4th March, 1845.

THE Sultan and the Rajah Muda Hassim, have received the letter brought by our friend, and we beg to acquaint our friend, that in accordance with the appointment of the Queen of England, we receive our friend as Her Majesty's agent in Borneo. We now acquaint our friend that we adhere to our former declarations, conveyed lately through Captain —, but at the same time, we beg our friend and Captain Bethune will, pending these negotiations, take measures to protect Borneo from the pirates of Marudu, under Sheriff Housman, who is, as we well know, in

league with some of the Pangerans of Borneo, ill-disposed to our government, in consequence of our agreement with the English, and the measures we have taken to suppress piracy.

We, likewise, through our friend, as Her Majesty's agent, beg to convey our continual assurances of friendship to the Queen of England, and to express our hope, that through his assistance we shall be enabled to settle the government in Borneo, to suppress piracy, and to foster trade for the well doing of both countries.

No. 68.

THOMAS WILLIAMSON, Esq.

Sarawak, March 18, 1845.

SIR,

I HAVE addressed a letter to Mr. Ruppel to desire that he will administer the affairs of the country, during my absence, as nearly as possible in the same manner as were I present, and to reserve any cases of importance until my return. Your duties will proceed in the same manner as though I were present:— you will listen to and record in the police-book all cases that may be brought before you, and refer them to Mr. Ruppel for his decision, explaining to him the native language, as much as he may require. All business (as far as possible) should be carried on in the public office, and as little opportunity as possible given for private complaint and underhand statements.

The native chiefs will at all times conduct the petty affairs of police, which may happen in their own compons, and which refer especially to the native customs and manners, and as you already know, you may at all times look to them for their assistance and support.

I need not assure you of my confidence in your prudence, as you are already acquainted with my opinions, but I must, in conclusion, recommend a continued course of discretion and moderation.

I am, sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. BROOKE.

No. 69.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Singapore, April 4, 1845.

MY DEAR JACK,

I HAVE two or three letters of yours to answer at once, and to thank you for them and all the news they contain. In the first place came the appointment—then a voyage to Borneo—an inspection of Labuan, and our return here.

The government of Borneo is all our own, and therefore I made no new arrangements with them ;—when Government decides how much or how little it will demand, it will be time to tell our Malay friends.

We found more coal than I expected, and very close to the river ; and I now begin to think it really may

become a prize some future day to our steamers. I am not judge, however, enough to offer an opinion, and as Mr. Williams* is here, and will shortly return with us, the question will be finally decided. Labuan is fitting in every respect for a naval post, if, in our visit we can make sure of a good supply of water on the site of the future town. I believe it to be there, but there was a wonderful difference in the supply when — visited it, and when I was there the other day with Bethune. Bethune himself has an inclination for Balanbangan, as being superior in position; and we shall probably examine that place likewise. To me it appears comparatively unimportant, provided wood, water, and climate be good and plenty, which of the two localities be chosen. I have no crotchets in my head on the subject, and would not oppose any in other people. Bethune, my colleague, is an excellent fellow, quite a gentleman, and clever and agreeable. We get on famously together, and I doubt not shall do so in future.

Sir Thomas Cochrane sailed from this yesterday. Bethune and myself had several interviews with him; and I explained as fully as possible, my opinion touching the suppression of piracy, more especially regarding Sheriff Housman, a bad pirate on the north coast, who is threatening Borneo Proper (or as Bethune calls it, after the natives, Bruné) in consequence of their agreement with us for the suppression of piracy. Is not this

* A gentleman who was sent out to report on the coal.

most wonderful? Is it not a little volume on the state of these countries—a man or a government dares not to be good, and is in a fair way of being punished, if he tries?

I read your account of your interview with Lord — with interest, and I think I will follow your advice of writing to his lordship, as he has given me permission, but it is a difficult task a first letter; and if I get over that, I shall be able to write in future with ease to myself. I feel very much the praise and the estimation of those whose good opinion is worth having—nothing stimulates a man more in the right path—at least nothing stimulates me more—for I do not pretend to be indifferent to the voice of praise, and a friendly pat on the back, a warm manner, a kind expression are always appreciated.

I hope your brother-in-law will get command of a brig ordered out to these seas, I should be highly pleased to have him.

In a fortnight's time, I hope to be once more in Sarawak, and thence we shall proceed again to Borneo Proper, or Bruné. There seems to be no doubt about the French plenipotentiary, Mons. Lagrenes, having bought Basilan from the Salaks. Let them have it—they will spend money, and find it a little Algeria, situated as it is amid a warlike and independent people, and with Spain objecting to their taking this possession. I am awake to the probability of a French rebound on Borneo, and will guard against it; they have long

been feeling this field, and will do something if they can, though if their choice of locality be so miserable, with very little effect.

Wise returns by the next overland ; I think he will be useful ; and I was particularly pleased that he had not overstated matters to the Government. He is a man of ability and industry, and of a remarkably sanguine temperament.

I have now run over the heads of information for you, and can do no more, for what with letters, public and private, I feel very like a man of business, and you know how I hate business. This will account to you for my writing quickly, and in haste amid numberless distractions—to-morrow, perhaps, I shall be more steady—Vale.

5th.—I am very glad to hear such pleasing accounts of your domestic life, and I trust you may continue as happy, dear Jack, as you are at present. I have often told you, however, that you cannot help being happy, and would be happy under almost any circumstances, so with the wife of your affections and your little daughter you cannot possibly be otherwise. I, even I, am moderately happy, and being a confidential agent to Government, I have become a great man in the realm of Singapore, and this certainly adds to my happiness—not from vanity, but enabling me to get a thousand things done which I could not effect before. I am now staying with Elliot, a friend of mine in the

Engineers, and in charge of the magnetic observatory. He is a very fine fellow.

I have had the pleasure of my nephew's company here since my arrival; and it was only the day before yesterday, he sailed away with the admiral, for Penang.

You must say all sorts of kind things for me at Bridport to all the party. I hope your mother will soon rally again, and generally a constitution like hers, bends long before it breaks. Jem does not seem to be doing much in New South Wales—but you must remember the unexpected distress of that colony for the last few years, and that when it rises again (for rise it must) he will rise with it, and prosperity there in future, will have a surer basis than before.

I believe I have now spun my yarn, and am going to see Bethune for the rest of the morning.

My thoughts are a good deal turned homewards, and I really believe I may manage in a year or two to run home for a few months. You must not lionize me. My kind regards and wishes to your lady and all your party, and believe me, my dear Jack,

Yours, affectionately,

J. BROOKE.

10th April, 1845.—This, my dear Jack, is merely on the subject of your interview with Lord — together with some points, which you can, perhaps, opportunity offering, bring to bear at a future time.

The Government having resolved to take a small island, and there to form a small naval post, it would be foolish in me, to reurge my firm conviction of the great advantage of being on the mainland. I have not altered my opinion on this head, though I am silent, and I am sure that in the end, it will be acknowledged. Lord —— has been frightened by New Zealand, and probably thinks that in Borneo, we must come in collision with the natives, and find the same difficulty attending the adjustment of land. Such, however, could not be the case, for in a tropical climate there never can be a thought of colonization, the field being only one for capital. The Duke says, "Have no small wars," and there is a danger of failure in having a very small settlement. What I apprehend for the future is, that the naval post will be a naval post only. Should a doubt exist as to the permanency of the settlement, no advance can be made, and if it be done on a VERY SMALL scale, this doubt will arise—bear this in mind. In the second place, the knowledge of Malay character and language, should be made the basis of the qualification of persons, who are appointed as officers of the establishment, at least of the majority. It does not follow that I shall have anything to do with it, but the principle is sound. Thirdly, a body of native convicts—the more the better—must be borrowed from the East India Company. These convicts must be supported by the state, and therefore may as well be at our new settlement—without them we shall have

great difficulties to overcome, and can neither make roads or open the country without incurring expense. Fourthly, if they think of me, and make me governor, or give me a general appointment, I should be very sorry, if they loaded me at the same time with any pecuniary responsibility—for you must know, as I never kept accounts—as my “*rithmitic*” is very deficient, and as I never could take care of my own money, I should be very sorry to have any charge of another’s.

The piracy of the Archipelago is not understood; folks, naval officers in particular, talk about native states, international law, the right of native nations to war one on another, &c., &c.; and the consequence is they are very reluctant to act, because they cannot distinguish pirate communities from native states. Some broad and general principle should be laid down, and native states or no native states, I would punish them if they dared to seize a trader on the high seas. Vale.

Ever yours,

J. B.

P.S.—Many thanks for the likeness of Sir James, it ornaments my room.

7th April.—I enclose a letter for Lord —, you must tell me whether his lordship is pleased with it, and whether he desires any more. You may likewise tell him, how unaccustomed I am to writing to persons of high rank, knowing which, he will excuse any deficiency of form.

CHAPTER III.

MAY 22, 1845, TO OCTOBER 24, 1845.

No. 70.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Bruné, May 22, 1845.

MY DEAR JACK,

I AM sorry to tell you, that affairs in Bruné are by no means progressing so well as I could have wished, and that it is to be attributed to our total inability for want of power, and orders to act. It is now two years since — received from them their first agreement, and since then, they have been fed upon promises, whilst we have come and returned with one story, "wait wait." Under these circumstances, it is not then to be wondered at, that the bad faction, headed by Pangeran Usop, are making head, and our good friends dropping from want of support, and suspecting our will or our ability to assist them. Muda Hassim and Budrudeen are threatened from without by Sheriff

Osman, the pirate chief, *because* they have declared for the suppression of piracy. Within Pangeran Usop conspires against their power—the sultan is doubtful—and the mass of the people on both sides lukewarm and confused. The position in which they are now placed is entirely our doing, and if the sacrifice be complete, or the town convulsed by civil war, it can only be attributed to our slowness and inaction—for I would answer with my life to control the wrong, and defend the right with thirty well-armed Europeans. How can negotiations be protracted without injury to the weaker party? Why cannot the Government trust somebody—anybody—with sufficient powers to protect and conciliate, whilst negotiations are pending? Any such power conferred on myself or any Government officer, need not surely commit beyond the mere fact of temporary protection? I would take care that protection was not wanting when the Government withdrew—if they do withdraw, but now my hands are tied, and I am reluctant to act on my own account, whilst holding a Government situation, unless in the last extremity.

You must know, that since we last left this place for Singapore, the American frigate “Constitution” has been here to offer immediate protection, and a treaty of friendship and commerce, on the grounds of the coal being ceded to them, and the right of exclusive trade granted. It is probable, that from the badness of their interpreter (who was formerly my drunken servant),

that the demand for exclusive trade has been erroneously understood ; but independently of this, had the American officers remained here longer, and been better versed in native politics, there can be no doubt that both the sultan and Pangeran Usop would have formed this alliance, or become sufficiently intimate to gain them to their party, merely out of spite and opposition to Muda Hassim and Budrudeen.

Even now they twit our party with the Americans doing at once, what the English cannot do, they are blamed for repulsing the Americans and for preferring our friendship. This is a state of affairs, which should Monsieur Legrene, the French plenipotentiary, visit Bruné, will lay the ball at his feet, and it is too likely he will kick it.

I assure you, when I reflect on the little that is needful, and feel how completely I am tied, hand and foot, it makes me ill ; it affects my body and my mind. I can see no direct and immediate line of conduct, which can extricate our friends, and in the mean time we are in a wretched, inefficient steamer, which could, on occasion, neither fight or run away.

By what I have said, you must not fancy that Muda Hassim and his party are weak, at the present moment ; on the contrary, they can still rule, but probably at the expense of a civil war, which we could prevent, but which they cannot. The measures I propose to take are the following :—First, to get back to Singapore as soon as possible, and to endeavour to induce Sir

Thomas Cochrané to act against the piratical chief of Marrudu, and, if possible (pending negotiations), to protect Bruné. I shall, failing this, rouse our chiefs to hold out, and if attacked from without or within, I propose supporting them from Sarawak with such means as I can muster. To refer home is useless, for events progress much faster than our councils, and even acting on my own resources, requires time, which is not to be spared. I again repeat, however, that some discretionary power must be given somewhere, and some physical power displayed, pending these negotiations, or else we shall be open to the slur of having tempted these right-minded and faithful rajahs to their fall. The Americans would act first and inquire afterwards—and they are right; we are endeavouring to make inquiries, which we cannot fairly arrive at under the circumstances, and like the boy in the story who hid his plum-cake, the rats will eat it up, whilst we deem it most safe.

This is our present condition, and we are running a risk, which we need not to have run. To me, it is most trying, and I never was placed in a situation so harassing to my temper. If a person can act, he, at any rate, is doing his best—however little; but to be incessantly on the brink of action and unable to act—to see power near, and not be able to exert it—to have all measures distorted amongst half-a-dozen heads—to be incapable of direct action when action is required—

is very very hard. One good blow straight from the shoulder, is worth half-a-dozen round about fillips.

Mind, I do not mean to blame men, but circumstances. Bethune views the question somewhat in the same light as myself, and besides he is an agreeable and gentlemanly person.

Sir Thomas Cochrane was very polite, almost kind when I met him in Singapore, and I hope something from him.

This is the end of my miseries, and after all I hope things may turn out better than I anticipate; if Sir Thomas act, all will be well, if not, we shall go to the devil, and Bruné will be destroyed. Let us hope however for the best—I will hope against hope.

I hope you have got nothing but pleasant news for me in your March letter, which we shall get on our return to Singapore. Now let me, with every kind wish, conclude. I hope you are all as happy as usual, and if you be, I have nothing better to wish you. Farewell, may good luck attend you, and

Believe me,

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

The following letter was sent about this time to the Rajah Budrudeen, as a precis of the steps necessary to relieve the power of Borneo in this crisis.

Memorandum sent to the Pangeran Budrudeen, dated about May, 1845.

THE great defect throughout all the rivers, is, that the rajah gains little or nothing—the people are oppressed and bullied—and the only persons who gain anything, are a set of worthless pangerans and nakodahs, who live by robbing the sultan and rajah of their revenue, and ruining the sultan's and the rajah's poorer subjects. It is a truth which we must never forget, that no people of any country, can bear many masters, who tax them according to their pleasure. The beginning of all good government, is to acquaint the people of the amount to be paid to one prince, who, when this amount of taxation is settled, must protect his subjects from the demands and exactions of all intruders. This prince, in the present case, is the Rajah Muda Hassim, who may fix the amount of taxation on each river, and when once fixed can protect the datus, from all other demands; and by kindness and encouragement, allow the datus to protect themselves, and teach them to look upon the Rajah Muda Hassim, as their only friend and protector.

This arrangement cannot be made very quickly, but beginning with the rivers to the southward, and coming to the northward, something might be done; and when a few rivers are rendered comfortable by this new mode of taxation, the rest will readily follow their example. The revenue thus collected will render the rajah com-

fortable, and, in time, by good government, lead to wealth. The revenue at first should be light, and it might be fixed for five years, after which, an advance may be made according to the prosperity of the various countries :—

	Dols.		Dols.
Sarawak . . .	2,000	Palo . . .	300
Samarahan . . .	300	Lyar . . .	300
Sadung . . .	500	Oyar . . .	1,500
Linga . . .	300	Muka . . .	1,500
Sakarran	Bintulu . . .	1,000
Serebas	Mavi . . .	500
Kaluka . . .	300		—
Rejang . . .	1,000		9,800
Mata . . .	300		—

Sakarran and Serebas are too unsettled. Samarahan and Sadung are rated low, because distressed. Samarahan and Sadung are desirous for such an arrangement, and, probably, Linga, Kaluka, and Rejang, are likewise. Of course when the arrangement is made, the first object is to make the datus firm enough, to resist all demands, from unauthorised persons ; and the sultan's and rajah's chop ordering the datus to resist, should be issued. Such men as Pangeran Illudeen and his like must be driven by force—a few must be punished, and even killed, if they persist in bad conduct. To gather this revenue, some means must be taken, to insure the rajah from loss ; and can be considered at a future time. Besides this revenue, other sources of profit may be found and spring up, for in-

stance, the coal, if it turns out good, might be let to some Europeans for 2,000 dollars a-year, and the rivers and country to the northward, when cleared of pirates, which they will be soon, will yield some revenue. Of course, in fixing a sum for each river, I do not intend that it should be that precise sum, and whether the rajah adopts this plan or not, at any rate it would be advisable to prevent, by every means, the bad men from ruining the various countries.

J. BROOKE.

The following Letter was enclosed with No. 70.

Singapore, June 27, 1845.

I HAVE nothing material to add, for we have not met with Sir Thomas Cochrane, since our return from Bruné, though from reports I do hope he will do something, and give the case his deliberate consideration. "Strike, but hear," said Æsop. I say, Inquire, but protect. We really have an idea that the name of England is known and respected in the outlandish parts of the East! When did our proud keels plough the summer seas? We are known as having been defeated by the Suluks, and turned out of Balambangan. We are known now in New Zealand as having been unaccountably licked at Korarakika. Savages do not respect our power; they respect no distant power. These innocents are the most masterly professors of the gentle art of diplomacy. They not only know how to lie themselves, but give others the full credit of

being as clever as themselves. These innocent savages, of course, have the properties of human nature fully developed and displayed. As a whole, with power, they are violent, blood-thirsty, treacherous, and lying; and to manage them by moral means alone, is like putting milk and water on a sloughing ulcer. The people at Korarakika must have been asleep: they had no information of the enemy's blow. Well, they are awake now, and I trust will give a lesson to these New Zealand gentry, which will reduce them to obedience—which will bring them on their knees. Half measures will fail. A savage must be subjected first to order, and then afterwards you may pet him a little; but to hold treaty or friendship before he is in the dust, will cause two wars instead of one, and just double the bloodshed needful—white and black. Let saints talk of mercy; but there is no mercy in half measures.

You may say I have enough to do at home, without troubling myself with New Zealand; but *J'enrage*—I enrage—to read of it, for we should not be outwitted by savages. The physical defeat is nothing. The news in Singapore goes, that a mission is to be sent to Siam to form a commercial treaty. Send a fleet with it, and once a-year afterwards to see the treaty enforced; it will do good: but heretofore we have been too civil to these ultra Gangetic nations—sometimes civil to degradation and dishonour. Sir Henry Pottinger was the only man whose footstep was deep enough. In general we tread so lightly, that the very

waste parchment of our infringed treaties does not crackle. I should like to go to Siam with a fleet. To Japan I would go with a schooner ; but both should open their tender charms to the commercial embraces of the West !

To return to my own affairs. I have been, and am, sick and weakly, and only just getting better. My inability to do anything, or to get anything done, destroys me. My mind, however, is made up on my course of action. If the admiral acts, it is well ; if not, I must act myself ; and for this purpose Budrudeen is to send to me with all haste, if endangered. I cram my gun-boat with Europeans—take the schooner “ Julia ” with a commissariat—get the people (Malays) along the coast to the number of a dozen boats—and, if obliged, use the Dyaks. If any harm comes to Muda Hassim or Budrudeen, I will burn Borneo end from end, and take care it remains afterwards in desolation. As I said before, I hope better things, though I prepare for the worst ; and I may almost say *that I expect* the admiral will do something, to remedy the evil, or at any rate leave a sloop-of-war to support Muda Hassim. Adieu ! With my kind regards and best wishes, ever, my friend,

Affectionately yours,

J. BROOKE.

I inclose the seed of the *Acrosticum grande*, a rare and noble fern. Would Lord —— like it ?

No. 71.

MAJOR STUART.

Singapore, July 4, 1845.

MY DEAR UNCLE,

I THANK you very much for your kind letter of the 27th February, and your congratulations on the probability of my ultimately succeeding in my objects. Your good opinion is very dear to me, as I know that it is uninfluenced even by your personal affection ; and I have so great confidence in your judgment, that when in my favour I find great support from it. I am not, however, very sanguine even yet about success ; and every step is made at so great a sacrifice of time, that unlooked-for events occur, whilst we are beating round the bush. I may say to you, that we are not using the means to insure success. Inquiry, joined with protection, would have insured our object ; but men are sent out to inquire, as though they were in a district in England. The native jealousy is worked on ; the piratical chiefs gain confidence and make head by our slowness ; our own party is disturbed and weakened. The Americans intrigue against us ; and all this goes on whilst Captain Bethune is taking angles, and Mr. Williams picking up bits of sandstone. The truth is, the Government has no confidence either in myself, or in the officer they have sent, and will not bestow any discretionary power of action, merely from a foolish

and weak dread of being committed. No definite instructions are given to the admiral on the station ; and matters are left to go on, just as the chance of events may direct, only with the drawback, that having conferred on me a nominal appointment, they have deprived me of the freedom of direct and speedy action, which heretofore has been an element of my success. At the present moment, Muda Hassim, an amiable and friendly prince, who has been two years bound by an agreement with Her Majesty's Government, for the suppression of piracy, is endangered by the pirates. His intercourse with Government has brought his life and his government in peril. A friendly prince, in communication with Government—the partisan of the English, the nucleus of civilization—the very best instrument for the extension of commerce (such an instrument is rarely to be met with, and which we ought to have in New Zealand), is thrown away, lost from death or disgust, because no one has the power or the will to assist him. Be it remembered likewise, that Muda Hassim was reinstated in his government in Bruné by — a year since. Could anything be more shocking, than the sacrifice of this prince under the circumstances in which he is placed? Could the Government have been so fully committed, through any officer in whom they had confidence? Of course I never will permit Muda Hassim to fall, if time can only be gained. I am now waiting here for the admiral, Sir Thomas Cochrane, in the hope of inducing him to

attack Sheriff Osman, the piratical fleet of Malludu, and to give the protection of a sloop-of-war to Bruné, pending the decision of Government. If this fail, and a crisis approaches, I propose supporting Bruné from Sarawak ; and in six weeks I can bring a force of one hundred and fifty war-boats into the field, which is enough, with a few Europeans, to carry Bruné. This force I would, however, rather not use. I hope for the best, and that the admiral will save me the necessity of taking the step. I trust likewise that the Government, will in time acquire that confidence which they now want ; for unless Government places confidence in the integrity and ability of its servants, it is impossible it should be well served. I do not know whether I should make a European diplomatist ; probably my slight acquaintance with society, and the irksomeness of its usages, would be a great drawback ; but I should have some confidence in dealing with Asiatics ; and I dare say I should do as well, as a wiser and more staid person in negotiating with Siam, or in fighting first and conciliating in New Zealand.

6th July.—It is difficult to do good, with such obstacles as I have in the way, and my position is worse than ever—a sort of Mahomet's coffin—during the progress of these inquiries. The Government, it is sincerely to be hoped, will either do something, or retire. A man who can act, and will act, is doing his best ; however poor that best may be ; but to be hanging between heaven and earth, or, more strictly speaking,

starving between two bundles of hay, is a most donkey-like lot. Well, well! we will hope, though hope delayed maketh the heart sick; and there is a small cloud in the West, which may burst on poor Borneo as well as England. The Americans have been looking into Borneo Proper; but as yet they have taken no advantage by their motion, though it proves that while one nation is deliberating, another can act. The French, too, are active and dangerous, eager for colonies, and likely to be balked in the project of obtaining Banton; in which case, having a plenipotentiary on the spot, they not improbably will rebound on Borneo. We could not indeed afford to lose such a friend as Lord ——; and come what may, I shall ever feel indebted and grateful to him for his kind opinion of me. Bethune and I start to-morrow morning at day-break to join the admiral at Malacca. The summons only reached us this morning; and as he has nine sail of vessels with him, I hope he will take the coast of Borneo on his return to China. Adieu. * * *

No. 72.*

July, 1845.

SARAWAK flourishes; trade is improved, population increased, and we have peace within and without.

* The editor found the following fragment amongst his letters, and although a repetition of much that appears in the preceding letter, he inserts it to show how clearly Sir James Brooke foresaw the evil consequences of a withdrawal of British protection.

If I was to tell you all about it in detail, it would take more paper, than would be worth paying penny postage for. The Serebas and Sakarran Dyaks frequently visit us, and if they pirate at all, it is in a very small way. Sheriff Sahib is dead. Sheriff Muller far off, anxious to be forgiven. Sheriff Japper at Sangi, in the Sadong. The only doubtful point is Muda Hassim's government in Borneo Proper.

Had ——, after taking him there, and re-establishing him, repeated his visit, all would have been right; but he was probably deterred by Bethune's appointment. Bethune, a capital fellow, and excellently adapted to the purpose, on which he has been sent, has no physical force at command, and enquiry without physical force has weakened our friends and our influence. The sultan is an idiot; the struggle is between Muda Hassim and Pangeran Usop. Usop intrigues with the people, frightens the sultan, is in league with Sheriff Osman, the piratical chief of Malludu, and will strike at Muda Hassim and Budrudeen, if he dares; Muda Hassim, by right of birth, is the sultan's successor, and his chief adviser, or more properly, the de facto ruler. He, *i. e.*, Muda Hassim, and Budrudeen are the nucleus of civilization, and of good government; the instruments we should use, the friends we should foster, for the extension of our commerce, and for the suppression of piracy. I shall do all I can, to get them supported in Borneo, and to induce the admiral to attack Sheriff Osman, who is defying us all, as well as

pirating. The admiral is expected here daily, and if he declines, and the necessity absolutely arises, I must protect Borneo myself. I hope for the best, however and the admiral was so polite and kind, when I saw him here before, that I am sanguine he will do something. This is our weak point at present, and we must, for success in any object, use the necessary means. We must protect our friends whilst we negotiate with them, and not risk their falling victims to the situation in which their intercourse with us has placed them. Yet this risk is now running, and they say themselves, they cannot answer for a month what may occur in Borneo. Usop may rise, and Sheriff Osman may attack them!

No. 73.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

H.M.S. "Cruizer," Sept. 7, 1845.

MY DEAR JACK,

I WAS dreaming of you last night, and imagination took a small flight, and lodged me in your house at Greenwich. I write to acquaint you with this important intelligence, directly after breakfasting aboard H.M.S. "Cruizer," wherein we, Bethune and myself, are returning to our separate destinations,—he to Singapore, I to Sarawak. Important events have really occurred in this quarter of the globe, since I last wrote; and to detail them as they occurred, I

must recal my last letter to your memory, wherein you will find, how uncertain and ticklish was the position of Bruné, the capital, — pirate - threatened from without, and distracted within by pirate promoters. Sir Thomas Cochrane—the entire case having been laid before him—determined to act, and accordingly we sailed with one line-of-battle ship, two frigates, two brigs, and three steamers, and in due course, after touching at Sarawak, reached Bruné. There the admiral met the sultan and Muda Hassim in all state, not an iota of ceremony was omitted ; pretty speeches were made, followed by bows, and amid all the pride and pomp of a guard of marines and a crashing band, the interview ended. On the following morning, the more serious business commenced with the authorities, and although several strong cases were established against Pangeran Usop, the admiral took the best and most recent one. The sultan and Muda Hassim, having entered into an agreement with the British for the suppression of piracy, and the protection of British subjects, Pangeran Usop, in spite of this treaty, and in defiance of the constituted authorities, had seized, or obtained from the pirates, two British subjects, and retained them in slavery, placing them in confinement whenever a man-of-war appeared off the place. The admiral, on the strength of the treaty, applied to the sultan and Muda Hassim to punish the offender by fine, or otherwise. The answer returned was, that Pangeran Usop was in rebellion against them, that

they disowned the act, were faithful to their agreement, but not sufficiently powerful to attack Pangeran Usop ; as, however, the offence was committed against the English, they requested the admiral would give his assistance, to punish their refractory subject, who was guilty alike towards them, and towards the English. This was agreed to. Pangeran Usop was quiet, but in a state of preparation, and it required judgment and coolness to coerce him, in the midst of a large city, without doing damage to the other inhabitants. Fortunately his house was rather detached, and stood at the foot of a hill which commanded the whole town. About ten o'clock of the night preceding the attack, the rajah told me Usop was seen loading his guns, and that we must be on our guard to prevent the mischief which might accrue from a night attack. This information I conveyed to the Admiral, and every precaution was taken, not only aboard the " Vixen," but the other two steamers.

Aboard the " Vixen " there were between four and five hundred men, marines and blue jackets, from the various ships, and in the course of the night, one of those extraordinary panics occurred, which deprive men of their senses for the time being, and it would appear, affect the best disciplined and steadiest of troops. At dead of night, a marine officer, suffering from nightmare, screamed out, and seized the next sleeper, who seized the next, and so on, the clamour spread. Some one sung out, " We are boarded by

Malays!" and the panic became general. The men, unarmed, rushed aft, knocking each other down in the scuffle, each man taking his neighbour for an enemy, each expecting a kris to be at his throat, and each pummelling, struggling, and punishing every body and every thing within reach. This confused mass of men, deaf to the voice of their officers, rushing aft, invaded the admiral's screened sleeping-place. The stokers, to increase the confusion, rushed up with shovels; the fore-hatchway was blocked up with struggling bodies, jammed in hot haste, some ascending, some descending. Officers sleeping below, rushed up, some with shirt and sword, others with shirt, and chair-armed. The confusion, having arrived at its height, gradually subsided. The men heard their officers, being tired of thrashing each other, and order was at length restored. The marine sentry was found walking quietly on his beat, and on being taxed, exclaimed, "Lord bless you, Sirs, there's no one aboard, it's only Mr. R—— dreaming."

If you will refer to Napier's "Peninsular War," you will find a somewhat similar, and more curious account of a panic in the light division. Here no one was to blame,—here all the riot arose from a dream generated in the brain of a well-supped officer.

The following morning, till about two o'clock was taken up, parleying with Usop, and the sultan and rajah; but Usop was strong in the idea of his strength, refused all compromise, and when summoned to appear before the rajah, returned no answer. The steamers

then were moved into position, the marines landed, ready for advance, and some twenty minutes grace afforded him. This over, the first shot was fired *over his house* from the "Vixen," which was instantly returned by two or three shot *at us*. Up went the signal, commence action,—the iron shower was hurled upon the devoted house, and before the third shot. I believe no living soul was in the house, all having, with becoming prudence, Pangeran Usop at their head, sought safety in flight. The admiral took two small guns to bestow on the men, who had been kept in slavery by Pangeran Usop, and the other twenty guns taken, were given over to the Bruné authorities. The gunpowder, *a vast store*, was destroyed; no plunder was allowed; and the Bruné chiefs, with a moderation creditable to them, refused to take any of the property found in the house, which was soon gutted by the poorer part of the population. Thus a lesson was taught, long wanted, and fell on the head of the criminal alone; no other person's property was touched, and but very few people hurt—and those, Usop's immediate followers. Usop fled among the Kadiéns (or hill people), who were said to be well inclined towards him. The admiral went over to Labuan, to which place I followed him after a day's delay; and having wooded the small steamers, we upsail for Malludu Bay, which we reached in two days. The ships lay outside, and on the 18th of August, the admiral having embarked in "Vixen," the three steamers, two brigs, and all the boats proceeded over

the deep bay. The light steamer having tried the channel in, and getting aground, the admiral despatched the boats to the attack of Sheriff Osman, at Malludu. The channel was shallow, the river narrow; the defences consisted of a large fort on the left bank, ascending, mounting eight heavy iron guns; a smaller fort on a tongue of land facing down the river, with three heavy pieces, besides brass guns; and a floating battery. These defences were protected by a double boom thrown across the river, formed of enormous trees, bolted together by large iron plates on the lower part, and bound round and round by the iron cable of a vessel of considerable size, the ends of which were secured on each bank, by numerous turns, and round many stumps and trees. It was as formidable and ingeniously contrived a boom as ever savage put together.

The attacking party consisted of twenty-four boats, ten being gun-boats, and, including marines, a force of 550 men. I did not go myself, the admiral not inviting me, but my nephew Charlie, of the "Wolverine," was of the party. On the morning of the 19th, the boats arrived near the boom, between eight and nine o'clock, and were met by a flag of truce. Sheriff Osman desired to see me; it being explained that Captain Talbot was the commanding officer, he wished to see him. In what manner? Captain Talbot invited the sheriff to the other side of the boom. No; the sheriff would be happy to see Captain Talbot at

the fort. Certainly, if the boom was opened to allow the boats to pass. No; the sheriff would allow Captain Talbot and a few of the leaders to come over the boom, in two small boats. As we heard in Bruné that this proposition was to be made, and trickery resorted to, of course the kind offer was declined, which, under any circumstances, would not have been accepted. At two minutes before nine, the first gun was fired by the enemy. Fifty minutes under fire, the boom resisted every effort to force it, and at the end of that time an opening was made, and Malludu ceased to exist. On board the "Vixen" we heard every gun, and could distinguish the heavy ordnance of the enemy. Every report went to my heart, for I was thinking more of my nephew and of my sister, than our success or defeat. At the end of fifty minutes a column of black smoke indicated our success, and the same evening the boats returned, and Master Charlie was sitting on the stern sheets of the "Wolverine's" pinnace, looking as demure as any young gentleman who had not been fighting. John Harvey's cousin, the gallant Gibbard, Charlie's messmate, was mortally wounded on the boom, working, axe in hand, to remove it. Our loss in all was six killed, two or three mortally wounded, and twelve or thirteen wounded, most of them severely. Had we wanted evidence before, we should have found plenty to convict this pirate. The bell and other property of the "Wilhelm Ludwig," a Bremen vessel, lost about a year since,

was found, besides the equipment of other vessels. The enemy suffered severely ; numbers lay dead in and about the forts ; numbers must have been carried away. Many slain were sheriffs and Illanuns, or Suluk chiefs. The blow is a great one, and will convince you of the audacity of these pirate communities, which, to the northward of Borneo, at Suluk, Mindanao, Palawan, &c., are untouched. Sheriff Osman is said, by a wounded and captive woman, to be wounded or killed. It is greatly to be hoped, the latter is the case, as then all chance of future annoyance from Malludu will be removed.

From Malludu we crossed over to Balongbangan. I was much disappointed in this island, but the position is excellent, commanding (*vide* chart) the eastern channel, Palawan passage, and being so favourably situated relative to Manilla and China. In every other respect it is vastly inferior to Labuan. Labuan, though not so good, is nevertheless a good situation ; a better port ; a better island ; a better soil ; commanding the coal ; close to friendly Bruné. Balongbangan is a desert ; population hostile ; gloomy, cramped, and inhospitable-looking. The difference of expense between the two will be considerable. At Labuan the details of a new colony are, or can be, readily provided for ; at Balongbangan not one necessary is at hand. Over and above this, Balongbangan was stated to be unhealthy, and all those who tried both, preferred Labuan. For these reasons all, I lean towards Labuan, though the inferior

in situation. At Balongbangan we parted from the admiral, and, in the "Cruizer," made our way back to Bruné, where events of importance had occurred, during our brief absence. Two days after I left the town, Pangeran Usop, with about three hundred Kadiëns, seized the hill commanding the place by surprise, and fired down a few shots; upon which Budrudeen, my friend, turned out in haste, with a small party, scaled the hill, and drove the enemy down the other side, and being reinforced, attacked and drove him from two other eminences he endeavoured to hold. The courage of our side being raised by this success, Budrudeen got together a body of one thousand men, and was about to advance into the country, when H. M. S. "Espiegle" arrived, and delayed him a day or two. As neither party could speak to the other, the officers soon took their leave, and Budrudeen advanced to Barukas, where Pangeran Usop had his head-quarters. The energy of Budrudeen's measures panic-struck his opponent. The Kadiëns (an unwarlike race of rice-growers) deserted Usop, and when Budrudeen surprised him, he was supported by very few followers. This movement was so unlooked-for, the success of it so complete, that Usop saved himself by a precipitate flight, reached the coast, and quitting Bruné, sailed away to Kimanis. His women and his children, his gold and his property of every description, fell into the hands of his victor, and Alexander did not treat the family of Darius with more gene-

rosity. The women were distributed amongst their nearest relatives, and the gold and other property distributed amongst them. Usop alone was the public enemy; and even the Kadiëns who supported him were not punished. Great advantage accrued from this moderation: the Bruné people to a man adhere to the legitimate authority, and the Kadiëns have everywhere submitted and asked pardon. Thus our side is predominant in Bruné. We were feasted and fêted during our short stay; former long faces were wreathed with smiles, and doubt and anxiety have given way to security and power. This is the more gratifying to me, as being Budrudeen's work, and as it relieves me of the anxiety which I before felt about Bruné.

I wished the admiral much to give us a vessel, to look after the coast pending negotiations, but he would not do more, than promise an occasional one. Now that will do; we are, I believe, secure, and at the top of the tree; but we ought not to be too secure, and even now I wish a brig was hovering between Sarawak and Bruné.

I left Budrudeen about to pursue Usop, with a dozen war-boats, a circumstance unknown in Bruné for the last thirty years. Bethune will return in the October mail to England, and I do not pretend to be sorry, because go he must, before our course progresses. But I have found him a reasonable and excellent colleague, with a good head, and always ready to advance what he has considered the public

interests. I shall be sorry to part with him, for I esteem him, and we have scarcely had a difference of opinion worth speaking of. I could work with him, and always with pleasure. My letter is already a volume. Do show it to my family, to keep them *au courant* of events here. My kind regards to your lady and all my other friends, and

Believe me, your sincere friend,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. Send this, after a time, to the major and my sister.

Sarawak, September 19.

To-morrow Bethune leaves me, after having an excursion amongst the Dyaks—a royal progress. I have left the Balongbangan and Labuan question entirely in Bethune's hands, therefore do not make what I have said public, or of any weight. What we want now is *protection*—English protection: whether by receiving a flag, with the Union on the upper canton, or otherwise, and the substantial and rational protection of keeping the Serebas and Sakarran Dyaks in check, if necessary, on a future occasion.

The former Sarawak requires, because without it no capital can be safely laid out. The latter is merely carrying out what Keppel commenced; and these powerful and piratical head-taking tribes should be subdued. This is a light matter, and not a present necessity.

Your's ever, J. B.

No. 74.

Sarawak, October 21, 1845.

MY DEAR JACK,

I WAS sincerely sorry on the receipt of your letter of the 15th August, to learn the sad intelligence of your great loss. I sympathize with you, though I feel that all expressions of condolence are perfectly useless, and with you, needless. I always felt the warmest regard for your mother, and many a time walking in your garden, have listened to her hopes, her fears, and her wishes, regarding her children. She was indeed, a most affectionate and attached mother, to whom you have all owed much, and whose loss you naturally felt acutely. Nevertheless, our grief for those advanced in life, is moderated and soothed by many considerations; our own affection—our selfish affection—would scarcely desire prolonged life for a parent, when it is accompanied by increasing suffering and debility; we could not wish clouds to gather round the close of a life, most portions of which had been marked, by as much worldly happiness, as is accordant with our state of being. Few of us desire a life prolonged to an extreme age for ourselves, and we ought not to desire it, for those we love, and in your dear mother's case, the decline of her health for years, left little to look forward to, had her life been prolonged. We experience a tender feeling for those we loved and have lost, but we have lost them in a course

of nature, and in the course of nature we hope, nay we expect to rejoin them.

I began by saying that I would say nothing, yet have I said a great deal, but it is rather the expression of my thoughts, than from any hope of affording consolation, for your own mind will long since have suggested, more than I have written. Your father's loss is great indeed, and there, alas! there is no mitigation save in the belief of a life to come, and hope of future reunion. They say age blunts our keenest feelings, and probably it may be true, but in age there is the increased sense of desolation and of loneliness—the inability to supply what we have lost. Pray say all you can, from me to your father, and assure him how fully I sympathize in his heavy affliction.

I will now revert to your former letter, wherein you mention that you shewed my “independent letter,” as you are pleased to term it, to Lord ——. In this matter you must judge for yourself, but if I was to write for Lord ——’s eye, my letters would probably be stiffer and more reserved than they are, not that I should wish it, but because ’tis the nature of the animal. As for the letter in question, I retain no distinct recollection of it, but I believe I was a little impatient at the time of writing; and as for independence, I flatter myself I am always independent in spirit, and I am sure neither Lord —— or yourself will like me the worse for it. As for the “non sequitur,”

what I meant to say was, that it does not necessarily follow, that a settlement four hundred miles to the Northward, will give more protection than a settlement four hundred miles to the Southward, but I freely grant that it can give the most efficient protection, if any directions are given ; or if a steady course of moderate measures be entered upon, for the suppression of piracy, and the pacification of the coast. More of this protection anon, in the mean time *vogue la galère*.

Bethune has left me, I esteem him very highly, and he has my fullest confidence, and this month I have written him a long letter, and sent therewith vocabularies of eight Dyak dialects. Bethune is one of the best tempered men I ever met, and always ruled by reason, to which I may add I consider him a rare instance of an impartial and just judge, and is a kind and moderate colleague. His prolonged stay in this country, enables him now to offer an opinion which will carry weight with it, and I (spite of my impatience) almost wish he had been able to stay longer, and to have seen more of the Dyaks, for he was very much struck with what he did see, and when you meet him, you will find that my account has neither been too highly coloured or too Utopian. For my part, I would willingly abide (and I think should agree with) most of Bethune's decisions, any difference would be a difference of degree, and not of principle. The protection which he and I talked over, was no more or no less

than a flag, with the Union cantoned in it, which has been done at the Sandwich Islands, and which it is a pity was not done at Otaheite.

The Union cantoned would give security to British property. Bethune knows all about it, so I need not go into particulars. I have likewise enclosed to B— some extracts from a letter I wrote Sir Thomas Cochrane, which refer to Bruné; they refer to the probability of Pangeran Usop coming into collision with the legitimate authorities; and I hold that having *convicted* and *punished* Usop, all future events contingent upon the admiral's action, which disturb the security of our friends, must be noticed by us. In other words, having boldly punished Usop for breach of agreement, and for detaining and enslaving British subjects, and having got the government to be a party in our quarrel, we must back them through any danger which arises in consequence.

For the last five weeks I have been leading a life of repose, most grateful after a year of bustle and motion, Since my return from Malludu, the chiefs of Samarahan, Ladung, Linga, Sakarran, Serebas, and Kaluka have been here, to wait on me to receive their orders. Samarahan, Ladung, Linga, and Kaluka are quiet and bullied, but dependant upon Sarawak, and quite obedient. Sakarran I think I can make something of. I send Williamson there soon, as my *avant courier*, to make a treaty of lasting peace and friendship with the

Dyaks. The ceremony consists there of washing muskets, balls, spears, swords, and other warlike instruments, in cold water, and swearing over the contents. Then follows the killing of pigs and feasting. Serebas is badly governed by the Malays, who are rascals, at least some of them. The Dyaks too are most of one counsel, and hereafter they may forget Keppel's lesson; but at present they are unceasingly pestering me with their requests for enemies, whose heads they may try to take. I always tell them to go to Singapore to kill the English!

Sarawak itself prospers and increases. Two facts will speak as well as volumes.

Three years since, the population was gaunt with famine. This season, five-hundred tons of paddy have been exported, in six months to *our knowledge*. One year ago, the rajah being here, trading boats rarely came into the river; within the last six months we have registered 110 native prahus, which have passed out, and many go without coming to us.

The population is increasing steadily, and is four times the amount it was three years ago; our town is quite respectable in aspect, and the native houses here and there, begin to assume an appearance of permanency, which they never dared to attempt in disturbed times. I had a long letter from Keppel, and I think he seems more impatient than myself; it is clear, however, that nothing will be, or ought to be done till Bethune's final

report be received. It will be unfair towards him. As for Keppel's book, I know not what to think; but I do not much care. I believe my journal has a good deal of information; but, like plums in a pudding, you must pick it out, the rest is but leather and prunella. The journal too is written *current ecalamo*; it shows all my humours, and moods; and worse, it shows my indolence and carelessness,—many a beginning of a subject without an end—many a sketch intended to be filled up into a chapter. The Celebes part, which will not be in the book, is the best. There is more there to write about, of active exertion and show. Another thing you must remember, is, that the first impressions, during the stay of some years, are succeeded by the second, and these by others, which necessarily causes flat contradictions of myself in various parts. Well! Well! it signifies not; and I am pleased to hear the first part of the journal you liked. I hope Keppel will not make a hero of me; it is a bore, and I am too quiet for a hero, and too reserved for a lion's skin, to deck my limbs. My comfort is, that I am in good company. The Hon. Henry Keppel will be leniently dealt with, and if the reverse, we are but a nine days' laughing stock.

I have nothing more to say, my dear Jack. My kind regards to your wife and the young lady, and all your circle. I have not seen Gordon, but hope to pick him up some day. We narrowly missed meeting, as "Espiegle" touched at Bruné, a few days before us.

Farewell! may all happiness be your's. From your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. I have just received seven huge cases of books.

No. 75.

MR. WILLIAMSON.

Sarawak, October 24, 1845.

SIR,

You will proceed without delay to the mouth of the Linga river, and thence send to Banting, and urge on the preparation of the Balows.

Lingi will leave you at Linga, and proceed to Sakarran, and by arrangement with him, you will wait his return at Moarra Linga or Pomutus. Watch at Moarra Linga for the piratical fleet.

The language held towards Abang Kapi, and the chiefs of Sakarran is to be quite conciliatory; that we have come to support their authority, which the three sheriffs have defied,

The boats' crews of our own bala, more especially the bankongs of the Balows, must each be informed, that our object in advancing, is to disperse, and if necessary, engage the bala collected by the sheriffs; but that Abong Kapi and the Tuah Tuah Dyak are friends, and must receive no injury, direct or indirect.

Should you meet the bala of the sheriffs at sea, or

in the river clear of Abong Kapi's Kampong, engage them, and kill the three sheriffs like dogs ; if obliged by Lingi's advice to advance to Sakarran, judgment and coolness will be required to act, in such a manner as to punish the offenders, without making a collision between the friendly Sakarrans and the Balows.

In these circumstances you will have the advice of the Patingi, and may listen to the wishes of the friendly Sakarrans, as to the *férocity*, or the mode of attack. Should Lingi, Gasin, Abong Kapi, &c. &c. desire, and cooperate in an attack on the sheriff's bala, and pledge themselves to the consequences, I would advise the attack to be made *as a favour conferred upon them* ; but in all councils lean to the moderate side, and risk as little as possible.

I by no means wish you to advance beyond Sakarran ; but you have a discretionary power to do so to a reasonable distance up the river ; but on no account land to make any attack upon houses, but acquaint the Sakarrans that they have my full concurrence to kill, or to punish these offenders in any way they please.

To the Balows you must represent that our object is to maintain peace, and to suppress piracy, and therefore they must be very careful to do no wrong to our friends and allies.

As the three sheriffs have intrigued and induced these misguided people to accompany them, on a piratical excursion, their lives are forfeited ; but you must bear in mind, that firm and moderate measures are to

be preferred to any severe and signal punishment, and that your great aim will be to disperse and frighten and deter the Dyaks wishing to pirate, with as little bloodshed as possible; but if you fight, do not fight by halves.

Should the piratical fleet have put to sea before your arrival, or subsequently escape you, send one division of Balows in pursuit, and wait at the best place, with a good look out by night and day, to cut off their retreat.

It is impossible to lay down rules at a distance, which shall be suited to the various occasions likely to arise; but you will use your best discretion, and hear the advice of the Datus, who are better acquainted with native warfare, than Europeans.

I believe Among Kapi and Lingi, &c. to be quite sincere; treat them as such, but look to them nevertheless.

Keep your boats together, and always stop at safe places, in the Sakarran river, running no risk of accident from the bore by pushing up.

Your obedient servant,

J. BROOKE.

The following notes were addressed, at this time, by Mr. Brooke, to some of his native dependents. :—

TO INDRA LELA LELA PALAVAR AND LELA WIS.

THE Tuan Besar desires that the Balows will babala (collect) directly, and the "Datu Sarawak,"

and "Tuan Williamson," with four or five boats, will be at Linga in one or two days.

Sarawak, 22nd October, 1845.

HEARING that a pirate fleet were coming out of Sakarran, led by some sheriffs, our fleet did babala or collect, and took eighteen boats.

12th November, 1845.

THE Tuan Besar has heard from Tuan Williamson, and Bandar Cassim, and the Sadung Dyaks, that they are ill-used, their children made slaves, and their property seized, by Abong Tahah, and the other men residing at Gadong. The Tuan Besar sends this letter to Bandar Cassim to request Bandar Cassim to let the Abong Tahah, and the people of Gadong know that the Tuan Besar will not allow them to live at Gadong, or any other part of the Sadung river, if they continue to do evil, and will punish them for their crimes. The Bandar Cassim can make known this letter to Abong Tahah, and the Gadong people who are to obey his commands; and if they fail to do so, the Bandar can inform the Tuan Besar.

Sarawak, 29th Nov. 1845.

COMPLIMENTS,

THE Tuan Besar wishes to tell his friend Patingi Abdulraman that the Dyaks of the interior of Rejang

are constantly attacking the countries of Muka, Oyer, Matu, &c.

The Dyaks of Kanowit who commit these pala (crimes), and encourage others, being under the government of the Patingi ; the Tuan Besar wishes to tell the Patingi, that they must be prevented from attacking these countries, or doing further mischief ; and if these Kanowit Dyaks do not obey the Patingi, the Tuan Besar hopes the Patingi will inform him, that the Tuan Besar (harops) trusts to his friend the Patingi Abdulraman, to prevent the Dyaks pirating any more ; because the Patingi will have shame, if the Dyaks, belonging to him, become as bad as the Sakarran and Serebas Dyaks ; and all men know that unless the Kanowit Dyaks and the people of Seriki permitted, no balas (fleets) could pass down the Rejang river.

CHAPTER IV.

DECEMBER 10, 1845, TO MARCH 5, 1846.

No. 76.

Sarawak, December 10th, 1845.

MY DEAR JACK,

I HEARD of you through Lackington, when you were on your road to Bridport, and met Johnson in Taunton. I hope you will enjoy your long vacation, when you have become reconciled to the change which has taken place in your old home, which you will naturally feel at first.

Events have occurred, since my last at Sarawak, which I must inform you of as briefly as I can. First and foremost, I despatched a mission through the Samarahan river, to the river Sadung, to meet the various Dyak tribes in those countries, to assure them of protection and good government, and to explain to them my desire of seeing introduced the laws and

customs of Sarawak amongst them. Mr. Williamson and his party were everywhere received with the utmost enthusiasm, and a ready assent was given to all my propositions, both by Malays and Dyaks. The Malays of Sadung are numerous, and have themselves suffered together with the Dyaks, all the miseries which the piracy and rapacity of Sheriff Sahib and the Borneon Pangerans could inflict; consequently they are ready to receive and obey any new form of Government; for they cannot be worse off than formerly, and judging by Sarawak, have every hope of their condition being bettered. Thus a seed was sown, which some day by culture, may become a goodly tree.

My object with regard to Serebas and Sakarran, has been, since Keppel's attack, to gain a party amongst the Malays and Dyaks, which might be able to neutralize the efforts of the piratically inclined. Lately I have effected this in Serebas, and I believe now that the two principal Dyak chiefs, called the Orang Kaya Pamancha, and Lingire, together with the Lacksimana and Bandar, are fully on our side, that they will not pirate themselves, or allow others to pirate (on any large scale), and that they will govern as well as they can. I trust the Dyaks, but the Malays of Serebas are bad; and the only hold worth anything, which we have over them, is that they hate each other worse than they hate me. At the same time, I always bear in mind, that they naturally look back to the old state of things, when they were more powerful; and besides,

from a series of misrule, their habits are bad ; and they scarcely know or appreciate the difference between right and wrong, in regard to government. The Dyaks however I trust, and, as I said before, the Malays, from their internal dissension, cannot act together for the purposes of piracy ; and one of the two parties would be sure to give us information against the other ; or, from hope of personal advancement, join us in any measures for the punishment of evil-doers. Thus far Serebas is secure.

Sakarran was very different from Serebas. The Malays in that river were totally broken and dispersed. The greater number fled to Sarawak or Seriki, and the rest followed the fortunes, some of Sheriff Sahib (now dead), and Sheriff Muller, his brother. Sheriff Muller fled to a place called Lugnong, far in the interior of the Batang Lupar. On Sheriff Sahib's death, Sheriff Japper, and Sheriff Ahmit, whose lives I begged, and whose property I spared, went to bring down the women of Sheriff Sahib's family, with my consent ; and Sheriff Muller protesting his earnest desire to meet me, came (sneaked) down the river towards Sakarran, where he was found by Sheriff Ahmit and the women. All this time I was civil to them, and aimed at getting them gathered together at Sangi, which is in the Sadong river, not far from the entrance ; and where I could have maintained a strict surveillance over them. To excuse this detail, I must remind you that these sheriffs are the originators of all the mischief on the

coast. The mixture of Arab blood, gives them rank in the eyes of the ignorant Islam ; they presumed on their position, and acquired a sway over the minds of Malays and Dyaks, which was confirmed by the long continuance of their power, in defiance of the government of Bruné. These sheriffs look back to the past with a sigh, and their only chance of retrieving their lost power, or even of striking a blow for it, is to regain some influence with the Sakarran Dyaks.

To obviate this, I wished to collect them at Sangi, and likewise put Abang Kapi, a Sakarran Malay, at the entrance of the Sakarran river. Abang Kapi is, I believe true, and the principal Dyak chiefs, Gasin, Lingi, Balan, Runtup, &c., were, I believe, true likewise.

This was the position of affairs in Sakarran about the middle of last October, when Lingi, the Dyak chief arrived in hot haste, to say, that three sheriffs, by name Sheriff Amil, Sheriff Long, and Sheriff Abu Bakar, were inciting the tribe to gather a pirate fleet ; —that they had collected a force, which would not be prevented by the orders of Abong Kapi, or Gasin ; Lingi was sent by Gasin and Kapi, and on his way gave the Balows of Linga, notice of the approach of this fleet, by which means he saved a number of them, as they were scattered on the banks of the river. On hearing the intelligence, we set to work hard, and by ten o'clock, the next night, despatched twelve boats (of all sizes and shapes) under command of Mr. Williamson

and the Patingi down the river ; when they arrived at Linga, two days after, they heard the intelligence that the Balows had turned out, with a very inferior force, met the pirate fleet, attacked it, and captured eighteen war prahus, after a brief engagement, as the Sakarrans deserted their boats, thinking the Sarawak fleet was upon them. The chief of the Dyaks, by name Api Bragi, was killed, and the three rascals of sheriffs escaped into the jungle, and thus escaped the hanging which I intended for them.

Williamson proceeded to Sakarran, met Abong Kapi and the afore-mentioned Dyak chiefs, and there got indisputable proof, that this piratical expedition was got up by Sheriff Japper, his son, Sheriff Ahmit, and Sheriff Muller. The Dyaks, however, were uneasy at Sheriff Muller's approach, asked my intentions regarding the sheriffs, and were told that I did not wish the sheriffs to reside at the entrance of their river.

After Williamson's return, the next news I heard was, that all these sheriffs were building houses* and forts at Sakarran, and that Abong Kapi was

* See the following letters addressed to them by Sir James Brooke :—

“The Tuan Besar wishes to let Sheriff Japper know that Sheriff Muller and Sheriff Ahmit are building houses at the Moarra Sakarran. As it is well known they cannot be allowed to live there, the Tuan Besar thinks, it will save them some trouble, to stop their building these houses ; but if they choose to live at the Moarra they must protect themselves, as the Tuan Besar will attack them without loss of time.

“The Tuan Besar wishes to be quite clear with the Sheriff Japper

frightened out of his wits by them. What they will do next is to be seen, but I expect Abong Kapi here daily, and in the meantime, ordered them down to Sangi.

That they will resist I can hardly imagine, for their followers are badly armed, the position weak, and their numbers small; but if left to themselves, they will soon tempt and bully the Dyaks to return to their old practices.

The news from Bruné that I can trust, are that Pangeran Usop and his brother have been executed, and that our friends are firmly established in the government. Patingi* Abdulraman is behaving badly, on this subject, and repeats, that if Sheriff Muller, Sheriff Ahmit and the rest stay at Moarra Sakarran, instead of coming, as Sheriff Ahmit agreed, to Sangi, that he will attack them directly after the receipt of this letter. They may do as they think best, but they will not be allowed to remain at Moarra Sakarran, as the Tuan Besar has been informed, by the chiefs of Sakarran, that when Sheriff Amil was preparing to pirate, Abong Múm was amongst the Dyaks persuading them to go out.

“For these reasons the Tuan Besar writes to Sheriff Japper, that Sheriff Muller and his son Sheriff Ahmit may be prevented from doing what they will repent afterwards.”

“Compliments.

“The Tuan Besar tells Sheriff Japper that he did not know that Sheriff Muller, Sheriff Ahmit, and the other sheriffs intended residing at Moarra Sakarran. Sheriff Japper now knows the Tuan Besar's intention of attacking them there if they stop, and he had better bring them all to Sangi, or let them go to Santong without delay.”

* See the following letter addressed to Patingi Abdulraman.

TO PATINGI ABDULRAMAN.

“Compliments, &c.

“The Tuan Besar has received two letters from his friend

having as he has, sent out several pirate fleets of his Dyaks ; and there is no doubt besides this, he allows them freely to descend the river, to kill the people of various other places.

I write in great haste, as I have many correspondents to answer to-day. Our news is quite good.

The "Iris," Captain Mundy, is at Singapore ; she proposes coming over here, but the season is bad for doing anything—a heavy sea, a lee shore, and roaring seas on. About March or April is the season to commence operations ; and we are very busy building twelve war-boats, from sixty to eighty feet long, as our old ones have been allowed to fall to pieces, from our secure state since Keppel's attack.

There is some hitch made by Mr. Wise about Keppel's book. I believe he considers the publication might prejudice the public against me, or might injure me in some way. That the book must be a bad one, I think certain ; 1st, Because the journal is unlicked, and unlickable, except by myself ; 2nd, Because Keppel's material is slight ; 3rd, Because a literary

Patingi Abdulraman. He is glad to hear the Datu Patingi wishes to prevent all piracy by the Dyaks, whether from Ulu Tyan or Ulu Rejang. The best plan will be for the Datu to be strong with the Dyaks of Kanowit, because unless the Dyaks of Kanowit assisted the people from Serebas and Sakarran, they could not make boats or come down the river. The fault is with the Kanowit Dyaks. Our friend can likewise attack all Dyaks who come out to pirate from the interior of the Tyan, or anywhere else, who kill the inhabitants of Siviki Oyer, Muka Tyan, or other countries, and the Tuan Besar will be very willing to assist in doing so, as piracy must be put down.

hack must do it badly, more especially with such heterogeneous materials.

Farewell ; my kind regards to your family, and in haste, dear Jack,

Yours, very affectionately,

J. BROOKE.

No. 77.

JOHN BROOKE JOHNSON, ESQ.*

Sarawak, January 10, 1846.

MY DEAR BROOKE,

I OWE you a letter, which I did not pay whilst you continued at home, for you would there have heard of me, and read my letters to your father. I am afraid, you must have found it very dull at home, for home, with all our love for our relations, will be dull after the parade and society of a regiment ; and the pleasures of hunting on a small scale, or trotting between Lackington and Barrow would not compensate for the sports of Greece, or the society of Malta. They will all love you the better for any little sacrifice, and you will love them the more for having made it.

I envy you your excursion into Greece, and should greatly have liked to have shot woodcocks in your company, in that wild and most interesting land. Do you remember our shooting woodcocks amid the ruins of

* Sir James Brooke's nephew ; he took the surname of Brooke in the year 1848.

Ephesus, and your feat of carrying the hares on the plains of Troy? My private opinion is, that there is no good sporting in England. Don't mention it, or it will ruin my character as a gentleman. The sport is artificial, and the zest derived from emulation, and the difficulty there is of being in the sporting circles; the high price of the horses, the fine clothes, and the good dinners, all limit sport to the wealthy, and with many of these it is a laborious pleasure. Here we have no sport, except deer-shooting, and deer-shooting entails much labour. Your coz, Arthur Crookshank, is our only successful sportsman; and when he goes away for two or three days, he generally furnishes the table with venison. Several Winkles we have, who occasionally try their hands, but these hands tremble so from excitement, when they see a deer, that they never manage to hit. The deer are fine stately beasts, or, as I remember a gamekeeper saying, "almighty beasts," standing as high as a red deer or a pony.

I parted with Charlie in September last, off the island of Balongbangan. The admiral asked him to dinner, the evening before we separated, and after dinner we had plenty of champagne together. The next morning Charlie complained of a headache, though I know not, how it came about. I have heard from him since; quite well, but somewhat disgusted at being sent back to Amoy. I hope you write him sometimes, and that you will have the pleasure of seeing him soon, for the "Wolverine" must be or-

dered home before long. It would be a thousand pities if you do not meet whilst he is in England.

I entertain no doubt of completely putting down piracy between Bruné and Sarawak, in the course of three years, if my measures be carried out ; but to the northward, it will be a far more difficult task, and we shall come in contact with powerful piratical nations : Sulu, for instance, and Mindaneo. It cannot be imagined that the pirate communities have any great love towards me ; but did they only know what was for their own good, they ought to esteem me highly. When these communities lose more than they gain by piracy, and feel piracy is like sitting on a barrel of gunpowder with a lighted match in the hand, then, and then only, they will discontinue it. Heretofore the efforts to put down piracy have been desultory and ineffective ; and the pirates have so little respect for the Spaniards or the Dutch, that only two or three years ago, they sent a letter to Macassar, threatening to burn the place, and appointed a rendezvous where they would meet the Dutch admiral, to fight in a fair field. This was done because, some time previous, some Dutch vessels had ventured to attack, to sink, and to capture some piratical prahus.

As you observe in your letter, the Dutch are jealous of my position ; they have attacked me, and have failed. Their suspicions are as ill-founded, as their interpretations of the treaty, and you may leave me alone not to infringe on the latter, or not to commit any

act of aggression on the interests of Holland which might afford ground for the former. My heart and my hands are unstained, even by any evil intention towards that nation; and, although I do not admire their eastern policy or government, I would not thwart them, unless under orders, or unless it was in direct breach on their part of the treaty.

It is natural, however, for a weak nation to be jealous of a powerful one, and to impute designs to every travelling gentleman against their interests. But I believe, as far as I am myself concerned, that if the Dutch ministers knew all that I had done, since my advent in the east, they would allow that there was no real ground for suspicion or distrust.

I have had some discussion with Wise of late; he is an excellent fellow, interested in my success, and I feel great confidence in him; but at the same time I consider his measures as too rapid and his projects too extensive. After all, though, the difference is a short one, and refers more to time, than any real disagreement of principle; but at the same time I have resolved, and told Wise that I will not receive any pecuniary advantage from any projects generated in England. Wise is quite right if he does so, after a mature consideration of circumstances; but it would be wrong in me, and dishonourable to make anything, because what is to be made, belongs in right to the Bruné rajahs. I desire to run no risk; to bear an

easy mind ; to have a sufficient and steady revenue ; an increasing country ; and above all, to be under British protection, with the Union cantoned on a Sarawak flag. Then Sarawak will be safe ; then it will be a government which, rightly and liberally managed, must improve vastly. If the salons of London be preferred to the jungles of Borneo, if pleasure gains the ascendant over ambition and duty, then, and then only, the government of Sarawak, and the influence in Bruné, will pass away. To witness daily a thriving and happy population ; to be the centre of a great movement ; to command along a coast of five hundred miles in extent, contents my ambition. [The remainder of this sheet is lost.]

Tell me in your next when you are likely to leave Malta, and to what part of the globe you are likely to go. Hong Kóng, for climate and dulness, I believe to be the very worst place, on the face of the earth, so I do not wish you to be ordered there, though it might give me a chance of seeing you.

I am getting on very well here, and am only vexed that the Government at home, cannot make up its mind as to its measures. Two years and a half we have been waiting and inquiring, and it will be six months yet, before we can hear their ultimate decision. Captain Bethune, who has recently gone home, will, I doubt not, bring the matter to a crisis ; and whether ministers do something or nothing, I shall be content to

be relieved from the state of suspense, in which I have lately been kept. Death is better than a prolonged uncertainty.

Sarawak is very flourishing, and I look forward to deriving a fair revenue from it in a few years, without distress to the inhabitants. We live now in perfect security; never think of wearing arms; sleep with the doors open; and travel about the country in small parties with or without a rifle. Crime is unfrequent. Last month I executed a man for a murder committed a year before, and flogged and turned out of the country three or four petty thieves. This is our rainy season, when little is going on in trade, travelling, or piracy. I am sitting at an open window, and roses from the garden are at my elbow on this 10th of January, and I can cast my eye upon the fruit without. Even at Malta you could not boast as much. The climate here is far more agreeable than there; not nearly so hot in summer, nor nearly so cold. The thermometer to-day does not exceed 82° F. On New-year's-day we had a regatta, and the long low canoes made an excellent race. Thirteen boats entered; two swamped, and in the course of two miles; the other eleven, might have been covered with a handkerchief at the winning-post.

I want you to do me a favour, which is, to see and to tip a boy called John Channon aboard the flag-ship "Hibernia." He is servant to Captain —, the

commander, and a^d brother of his is with me here, a very good and well-behaved young fellow.

Probably you know — or can get acquainted with him, and if so, give him my kind remembrance. Some of the “Hibernias” you are sure to know, so will find no difficulty.

I have come to the end of my paper, and my views ; and will only ask you, my dear Brooke, to write to me whenever you feel inclined, and believe me,

J. BROOKE.

P.S.—I enclose a few seeds, but don't give them to nobility or nurserymen, for they will grow very well in ordinary hands.

No. 78.

THOMAS WILLIAMSON, Esq.

Sarawak, January 26, 1846.

DEAR SIR,

YOU will consider the present communication as of an official character, to guide your future conduct, and to point out the limits of the duties assigned to your situation.

There are two rules of such vital importance, that I shall mention them in the first place, in consequence of its being indispensably necessary, that every gentleman holding an official situation, should most strictly adhere to them ; and because the character of all parties concerned must be deeply injured from any deviation from

these rules, as tending immediately to lower the European character in native estimation.

The first rule is,—That no gentleman, entrusted like yourself to a certain extent with the administration of justice, and to whom the natives are in the habit of applying for redress of grievances, must become indebted in any way to a native.

I need add nothing to this rule, as the consequent loss of character, and the undue influence obtained by the native, on its infringement, are too apparent to need comment.

The second rule is,—That no gentleman in an official capacity, can directly or indirectly derive any benefit from trade, or be permitted to accept presents, except such as are of the most trifling description.

You must bear in mind that any advantage gained in traffic of any sort accrues not in the character of a trader, but from the position of the official person, and not only justly subjects that person to the gravest suspicions of his superiors, but causes a bias in his own mind, whenever the rights of justice become opposed to the profits of trade.

These reasons, together with the obvious interference of traffic with the time which ought to be devoted to other duties, are of sufficient weight alone to render it imperative that neither directly or indirectly, you should be concerned in any matter of trade.

The two rules to which I call your serious attention, are of such importance in my estimation, that I consider

their infringement ~~is~~ tending directly to the corruption of justice, and as most seriously hurtful to the character of any public servant ; and so zealous do I feel on this score, that I do not hesitate to add, that in future I shall not scruple to withdraw my confidence from any gentleman, whom I may have reason to think has been guilty of deviating from them, in the slightest degree.

These two primary rules are to be maintained intact, not only by general integrity, but by a due observance of a certain degree of caution and reserve in our conduct towards the natives. The degree of freedom, which each person may allow himself, must depend upon individual character, and individual feeling ; but there is a point, beyond which, freedom in our intercourse with the natives ought not to be carried, viz.,—that point of familiarity, which, if it does not breed contempt, certainly acquires no respect.

I allude particularly to the habit of almost daily visiting at native houses, and a degree of intimacy with the females of their families, which involves directly, or by implication, an official person in all the petty intrigues unceasingly carried on by native women.

This degree of intimacy with the natives, is as far removed from the ordinary interchange of friendly politeness, as a proper reserve is compatible with every rational object of conciliation and esteem.

Trifling as this subject may at first sight appear, it becomes important from its connection with the rules previously stated ; for if, in the society of our own

countrymen, it is no easy task so to shape our conduct, as to preserve at once their affection and their respect, how much more difficult must this task become to an official person, whose duties bring him in contact with a race of people, so differing from himself in habits, manners, and above all, in morality.

I re-state, therefore, that too great a familiarity with the natives, is injurious to the estimation in which an official person should be held, and is incompatible with the high character for justice, for morality, and for right feeling, which the European gentleman should maintain with the native princes, and the local authorities.

In the same manner, the consequent hourly intercourse with the better class of natives, renders it less easy for the poorer people to gain approach for the purpose of privately stating their grievances, and is moreover so far detrimental to justice, that the bearings of a case are too often discussed, before the case is brought into court.

I could add many other remarks of minor importance, but content myself on the present occasion, by recalling your attention to rules which I have laid down, I hope with sufficient clearness, to guide your future conduct, from the date of the receipt of this communication.

Believe me, dear Sir, truly yours,

J. BROOKE.

No. 79.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.

Sarawak, February 12, 1846.

MY DEAR JACK,

I DID not intend writing by this mail, as I have but little and melancholy news; but I wish to send you a few seeds which Lord Haddington will perhaps like to have. The Jantawon Lusa (Milky Jantawon), is a creeper, which affords the real caoutchouc; the flower is unknown; the fruit pear-shaped, apricot-coloured, and delicious. The others likewise bear edible fruits.

I know not whether I ever mentioned Williamson* to you. Poor fellow! he was drowned on the 29th of last month, in consequence of falling out of his canoe. A casualty is felt in a small community like ours; and I regret him personally, as he has been for many years a faithful follower of mine.

Williams goes home by the mail, and will tell you all about us. One of the reasons why I have not written you so fully as usual, is a small war I have with my agent, Mr. Wise.† His projects are so extended, and his ambition so vaulting, that I am obliged to check his career, which must in the end fail. He talks of making me one of the richest men in England,

* The gentleman to whom the preceding letter is addressed.

† See the subsequent letter, No. 94, addressed to Mr. Wise.

provided only I shut my eyes, open my mouth, and see what God will send me. I do not approve of this procedure, and therefore I must be content to be poor, and indifferently honest.

Seriously though, I hold by one principle,—that no prospect of personal advantage, ought to induce me to risk the happiness of the many thousand people here—and risked it would be, were a large capital thrown suddenly into this country, under the superintendence of a number of Europeans.

A gradual and natural development is what I require, and it is as necessary to a state as to a man, in infancy, that each part should grow in proportion. What is the use of a monster, all legs and no head. I am trying to fit the cap to the head, and averse to fit the head to the cap.

I will trouble you more at large next mail, on this topic. Ruppel has sent you a collection of beetles.

I do not answer your letter now, of 30th October, but reserve it for next *schooner*.

Ever, dear Jack, yours affectionately,

J. BROOKE.

No. 80.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Sarawak, March 5, 1846.

MY DEAR JACK,

By the last mail I wrote but a short letter, having more than an ordinary press of correspondence, and being somewhat vexed at what I considered a wrong course, which my affairs had taken at home.

The truth is, there are parties who wish me to plunge headlong into all kinds of bold speculation, and who promise me wealth, if I do so. A sketch is made out of a Borneo Company, who are to buy up my rights in Sarawak ; develop the resources of the various rivers ; and above all, work the coal mines of Bruné. All this I have positively declined, because part of the project is unjust, part visionary, and part premature ; and, in my opinion, if a measure of this sort be precipitately undertaken, it would end in failure and bloodshed, undoing all that has been done by time and patience. From temper and education I am averse to mix myself up in any scheme, though, as in the present one, I can easily see that, with a small rent in my reputation, I might pocket a large sum of money. I will not trouble you with detailed reasons, but it will suffice to say, that I have declined becoming a party to any project, which may be originated in England, though I do not deny that hereafter, and under different circumstances—after further enquiry and mature

deliberation, a portion of the project, viz, the working the Bruné coal, might be undertaken, with profit to the parties engaged, and to the Bruné rajahs, and to the advantage of both countries. Allowing this, however, it is clear that the pecuniary advantages derived must fall to the share of the rajahs, and that my participation would be an act of swindling those who trust in my integrity.

I have declined for numerous good reasons, but before this project was broached, I had a project of my own for the further development of Sarawak—a project I considered both safe and feasible. Capital in moderation is the great want at present, in the hands of parties, who would wield it with moderation.

I offered to let the monopoly of antimony ore, of opium, and of the right of working the Diamond River, for five, seven, or ten years, for a yearly rental of 2,500*l.*; the ore over and above a thousand tons to pay extra 1*l.* per ton. These terms are most moderate, but I was induced to make them so, by the consideration that I should enjoy an independence; be able to refund a portion of what I have laid out; and that, whilst a benefit was conferred on the country, by the gradual introduction of capital, in the hands of responsible parties; that I might look forward to other sources of revenue, and to the term of the lease, to a further increase of wealth. The outlay to the parties leasing would not exceed 8,000*l.* at the first, and for this sum, if their own calculations be reckoned (at a

half) they might expect a return of 5,000*l.* a-year, clear of expences. The advantages are, that the parties derive an immediate return for their money ; a small capital is sufficient ; it involves no difficulty of legislation ; it precludes any mass of Europeans entering the country ; it appeals to their pecuniary interest for their good conduct, and it is a project which may be indefinitely extended, by slow degrees. Add to this, it risks nothing, it is consistent with the state of society, and trusts to time, the improver, for the natural development of a new country. I can see my way through this plan, but the other is a field of speculation, and if I may say what I think, it will become a question of *scrip*, rather than any positive project of improvement. The defeat of all projects generated in the hot-bed of London is, that they fit the head to the cap, instead of fitting the cap to the head. Projectors are deaf to the voice of experience, and defy the force of circumstances. Who of the thousands forming a company, think or care for the result ? A man whose remuneration depended upon success, would cautiously advance, risk as little as possible, and work circumspectly with the tools he finds ready to his hands. But I need write no more about it ; I hate a large company, which is puffed up and tricked out like a saint, and which like a saint promises much in future, for a small present contribution. In the second or third stage of this image-worship, the eyes of the worshippers are opened, the puff is a falsehood, the saint a

harlequin, and the last believer who has trusted, loses his mite and gains nothing. But the priests of the idol! do they not eat and drink? Do they not buy and sell? What is the idol to them? Let him fall, and they will soon find another. In fact, my dear Jack, I will have none of it. I wish to risk nothing. I want no profit but such as flows in the course of time and improvement; and I desire to keep myself clear of all projects which, by holding out great personal advantages, might blind me to what is right, and what is due to my own reputation. Such schemes have already wrecked many a fair reputation, and will wreck many more. The hope of sudden wealth blinds its votaries—they dabble in stock and scrip, and, with but few exceptions, they belong to the two great classes,—the doers and the done.

March 10th.—The 6th brought me a mail to the end of December, by the “Royalist,” tender to the “Samarang.” It did not bring me any letter from you, which I attribute to the holidays. The same 6th March was an important day in the legislation of Sarawak, as I passed, with the consent of the Datus and principal men, a law which must ultimately strike at the very root of slavery.* All slaves from other countries, who run to Sarawak, are declared free, and are to be incorporated into the body of enlightened citizens.

* See ante, p. 37; where Sir James Brooke looked forward to this, as the next step in legislation.

The reasons why this law is so acceptable to the people here is, that all the neighbouring rivers, viz., Sambas, Sangow, Rejang, &c., have retained Sarawak slaves who took refuge there, during the days of discord and bad government, and they consider it foolish that they should give everything and get nothing; but I do not believe that they are clever enough to see the real drift of the enactment. My letters of December were important, and from the tone of some of them, I can see my way through the mercantile affairs.* I shall not be forced against my will to become rich, or to enter into any mad speculations.

The Netherland government has made an attack upon me, but it has failed. I am astonished at the misrepresentations to which it stoops. It is stated, that disputes have arisen between me and the Netherland authorities, whereas the truth is, I never had any dispute with the Dutch authorities on any matter of business; and the only communications which have passed between the resident of Sambas and myself, have been of a most friendly kind, and relating entirely to the seizure of some criminals, who escaped from the jail of Sambas. I am accused of obstructing Dutch trade, and monopolizing produce. The truth is, that the trade from Sambas, Pontiana, and the Natuna Islands has greatly increased, and not the *slightest res-*

* See note to preceding letter.

triction is laid on prahus, or vessels under Dutch or other colours. Respecting monopolies, I am obliged, in order to meet the expences, to retain the exportation of antimony ore in my own hands. Is this so heinous a crime, and will the Dutch throw the first stone at my glass-house? Like the governments of Sambas, Pontiana, and Singapore, I have an opium farm. If I was to abolish it, the revenues of Sambas and Pontiana would suffer considerably, from the smuggling of that article over-land, which would inevitably follow. So far then, the Dutch authorities are, or ought to be, much obliged to me. It is only a month or two since, that I received polite and friendly letters, from the sultan and the resident of Sambas, requesting me to recover a debt due to the former, from the Chinese settled here.* A debt contracted in Sambas by them and by other Chinese, living now in Sambas. At their request, I have endeavoured to make an equitable arrangement for the payment of the sultan's eleven thousand rupees, and in order to enable the Sarawak portion of the Chinese Company to meet the demand, I have remitted the current year's revenue due to myself. Yet the "noble Brutus" says I am malicious. Looking at it purely in a selfish point of view, nothing advances the prosperity of Sarawak so greatly, as the Dutch restrictions on trade—nothing would injure Sarawak so much, as Sambas being a free port. The

* The two following letters, Nos. 2 and 3, show the correspondence on this subject.

more restrictions they have the better for me ; and the interests of Sarawak have been injured by the concessions by the Dutch in admitting British manufactures into the outports. I really have no ill-feeling against Dutch rule, though I do consider (and most Englishmen will agree with me) that their government does not understand the real interests of Holland, and that from the same short-sighted, but sincere view, it does not aim at the advancement of the natives of the Archipelago, either in happiness or civilization.

I should like to see the Belgians form a settlement out here. To say nothing of the dog-and-cat-like juxtaposition, it would afford the Netherland authorities some substantial ground of jealousy, and thus relieve the English from the unceasing burden of distrust. I understand that the Danes are about to form a settlement at the Nicobars. They are a good quiet people ; but in war time, the Nicobars, as a neutral port, would be most dangerous to our commerce. Just observe on the chart, what a commanding position it is, and I presume there is no doubt it will become a neutral port in any European or American war.

I expect the "Samarang" here shortly ; and about the 10th of next month, it is probable the "Iris" will pay me a visit, and bring the "Phlegethon" steamer. I propose proceeding to Bruné, to inquire how our friends there get on, and afterwards, with Captain Mundy's concurrence, to act against the pirates.

Piracy is not what it was, but if neglected, the communities will soon relapse into their old habits ; whilst we punish those who have *recently pirated*, we must visit the other rivers in a friendly way, and endeavour to establish some responsible persons, who will bar egress to the piratical fleets. When a community loses more than it gains by piracy, then, and then only, will it abandon the custom. I propose therefore to punish the Malay rulers, for the delinquency of the Dyaks, and to hold them responsible for the conduct of their subjects ; for it is pretty certain that the Dyaks would not pirate without Malay encouragement, and that the Malays could prevent them going out if they chose to do so. The lower part of the Sakarran river is now friendly, as not only the Malays, but five influential Dyak chiefs have formally given in their adherence. The interior remains disobedient, but they will find it difficult to get out by their own river. The Malays of Serebas continue pirates in their hearts, though they profess largely, and they have recently allowed a pirate fleet to enter their river. I shall not punish them for this, but make it the occasion of a formal warning, and try by every means, by threats and by kindness, to seal up Serebas, as I have nearly done Sakarran. The present outlet is in the interior of the Rejang, a river under the rule of Patingi Abdulraman. A sketch will show you how they manage to cross over from Sakarran and Serebas to the waters of the Rejang, and thus find their way

out by one of the numerous mouths of that stream. The Kanowits, and others on the Rejang waters, join the Sakarrans and Serebas, help them to build boats, entertain them in their houses, supply them with food, and share plunder. I propose attacking the Dyaks on the Kanowit as a lesson, and then obliging Patingi Abdulraman to build a fort, at the mouth of the Kanowit, to prevent them descending that stream.

I have no news to tell you : our harvest is commencing, and our first prahus of the season have sailed to Singapore. Farewell—my letter is long and prosy, and written amid numerous interruptions. Offer my kind regards to your lady, and a kiss, if she will accept one, for Miss Dora.*

I am, ever dear Jack, your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE:

I.

THE Tuan Besar sends Abang Pata to Lundu to enquire about seventeen persons whom Sirail, of Orang Palo, claims as slaves runaway from Palo. If they confess themselves (akun diri ulm) to be rightfully slaves, one or two can come back with Abang Pata to Sarawak, where they can seek out persons to pay a proper price for them, but if they deny that they are slaves, two of the heads (tuaks) of them, will come with Abang Pata, that the Tuan Besar may decide after hearing their story.

* The Editor's eldest child.

Abang Pata and the Orang Kaya Tumagong will send to Sumsudeen, to order his return to Sarawak, as the Tuan Besar hears he is oppressing the Dyaks of Lundu.

Dated February 14, 1846.

2.

Compliments and style to follow the style of the Sultan's letter.

WE have received the letter of Sei Paduka, the sultan of Sambas, brought by Pangeran Hassim, and called the writers of the Santigu kungsi, to demand of them the debt of six thousand rupees due to the sultan. The writers and the kungsi own the debt, and express their desire to pay it, in a fair proportion with the same kungsi at Sambas. They urge, however, that they are at present too poor. We have told the kungsi that as they own the debt, no revenue will be demanded of them this year in Sarawak, in order that they may pay, and that they must make a regular and fair agreement to repay. Should they fail in this agreement with the sultan, we shall do all in our power to meet the sultan's wishes, whether by shutting up the road to Sambas for the Chinese, or in any other way the sultan thinks best. The sultan will hear from Pangeran Hassim the particulars.

We wish to inform the sultan that the Sambas Dyaks of Cumbeh have been attacking the Sarawak Dyaks of

Panjong Saroh and other tribes, and that all these tribes are very desirous to attack Cumbeh in a body ; we have prevented them from doing this, and beg our friend will prevent by his power, the assaults of the Cumbeh Dyaks on the Sarawak tribes, even for their own sakes ; as it will be impossible to prevent the Sarawak Dyaks' balas retorting in a bala, if the Cumbeh continue to kill them. We have written to Uri Menap, to inform him of the circumstance, and to acquaint him of our desire that the Dyaks of the two countries should be at peace.

Dated 3rd January, 1846.

3.

12th January, 1846.—First, the debt of six thousand rupees being contracted by the kungsi Santugu, both of this place and of Sambas, they must consult together, and agree in what time it is to be repaid to the sultan, and in what proportion here and at Sambas. The kungsi must enter into this agreement, and acquaint the Sultan of Sambas of it, and in case they fail in the repayment, the Sultan of Sambas can take measures, to force the money from the kungsi at Sambas, and stop the communication of the Chinese between Sarawak and Sambas till the money be paid.

Second, the kungsi having been many years in Sarawak, and having failed in fulfilling the agreement to pay revenue made with the rajahs of Borneo, it is to

be understood that the contract is abrogated from this notice in consequence of their non-adherence to it. The kungsi must remember that a proper revenue must be paid for the privilege of working before all other claims whatever. The yearly amount of this revenue, the Tuan Besar will fix shortly, and enforce the payment.

Third, the kungsi can continue to discharge the debt due to the Tuan Besar by payment in antimony ore, but no antimony ore will be bought from other Chinese until this debt is discharged. The kungsi will therefore prevent boats laden with ore being sent down for sale.

The time is come when the kungsi must pay a proper revenue, or give up their gold works.

CHAPTER V.

APRIL 4, 1846, TO OCTOBER 3, 1847.

No. 81.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Sarawak, April 4, 1846.

MY DEAR JACK,

YOUR melancholy letter* reached me not long since, and I need not say how sincerely I grieve over the news it contained. Poor Jem was my friend, and we made two long voyages together. I deplore his untimely fate, I think of the time when I enjoyed his society, and I sorrow over his loss. I hope you may all bear it with fortitude, for time alone can restore your wonted cheerfulness.

The news I have to convey are of a deeper dye. A brutal and bloody murder has been committed in Bruné,

* See note, p. 54, vol. i.

where the sultan has treacherously massacred Muda Hassim, and nearly all his family. My indignation and sorrow are profound and sincere. They are victims to their fidelity and their desire to advance their country.

The sultan and the Pangeran Muda Hassim entered into an engagement with the British Government for the suppression of piracy, and the protection of commerce. The consequences of this engagement led to the punishment of Pangeran Usop by the English, with the consent of the sultan and Muda Hassim. Pangeran Usop, subsequent to the departure of the English, attacked the city, which led to his defeat and death. All these circumstances arose out of the above mentioned engagement. We (*i. e.* Bethune and myself) on our return from Malludu, found them happy and triumphant, but subsequently to our departure, it appears, that the sultan resolved to depart from his engagements, and in order to be able to do so, determined to massacre the entire family of Muda Hassim. He knew that they were firm and faithful to their engagements, and they were murdered accordingly. Muda Hassim, Budrudeen, and eleven or twelve more of the brothers or sons of Muda Hassim, have been foully slaughtered, because they remained true to our interests. Upwards of a year ago, they applied for protection. They applied for a release from their engagements. They were not protected, they were not released, except by a bloody death, in their endeavour to carry them out!

This briefly is their case, the sultan (and those with him) has broken his faith and murdered his relatives, that he might do so with impunity. He avows, by the act that he will commit piracy, or foster pirates at pleasure. He defies our power, assumes a hostile position, and if he has a chance, will fire on our flag. Is the base treacherous forsworn murderer to go unpunished? It may be pretended, that it is a mere internal convulsion or struggle for power, with which we have nothing to do. It is no such thing. I maintain that these princes have been murdered only on account of their fidelity to the British, and from their endeavours to act up to their engagement with our Government. From this cause, and this cause only, they have perished, and but for this cause, they would have been safe. I know you will agree with me on this question. Is the murderer to go unpunished? No. Destroy Bruné, depose the sultan, disperse the population, never allow the place to be rebuilt. Rescue the unhappy survivors of Muda Hassim's unhappy family. We owe them something. Let us convince them, that if we have been dilatory, we nevertheless have been sincere. We may collect the family and their followers, and establish them on some spot towards the sea, we may do this and more, for I repeat we owe them a debt. A *little* energy, a *little* activity will do everything—mere desultory evanescent efforts effect nothing. My suzerain the sultan!—the villain sultan!—need expect no mercy from me, but justice he shall have. I no longer own his

authority, or hold Sarawak under his gift. I wait! I hope! I cannot doubt the decision in the case.

I say nothing about myself, except that I am unwell; violent passions and sleepless nights are hard to bear, but I do my best. I wish not to complain, I lay no blame on any one. I look forward as much as I can, and backward as little, but I cannot and ought not yet, to forget my poor friends, who are in their bloody graves.

The signet ring (my own crest, and gift to him) that Budrudeen sent to me in his dying moments, is a pledge not to be false to him in death. It is a poor, a melancholy consolation, that he died so nobly; his last thought was upon me—his last request that I would tell the Queen of England how he perished. Surrounded by traitors, who still held back from his desperation, wounded to death and bleeding, he applied the match which blew himself, his sister and another wounded and faithful woman into eternity.

A nobler, a braver, a more upright prince could not exist. I have lost a friend—he is gone and I remain, I trust not in vain, to be an instrument to bring down punishment on the perpetrators of the atrocious deed. Farewell.

Ever your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

No. 82.

CAPTAIN THE HON. H. KEPPEL, R. N.

Sarawak, April 5, 1846.

MY DEAR KEPPEL,

I MUST refer you to Wise, for the particulars of the bloody massacre of our friends in Bruné, which has been perpetrated by the sultan and his gang on account of their adhering to their engagements with our Government. The Rajah Budrudeen, and eleven others, all of the royal blood, and the nearest relatives of the sultan, were cut off by surprise and murdered. We have thus reaped the full fruit of delay, and we have caused our friends to meet an untimely fate; but I really wish to repair the evil and punish the offenders, rather than make any complaints of the past. Had your proposals been accepted, the needful local protection would have been given. How can you doubt my earnest wish to see you at all times, and you may rest assured, I am always ready to serve with you or under you.

My indignation and grief are too natural—the former feeling will, I hope, wear away; the latter never. Budrudeen, our friend, was a noble high-minded prince, both brave and intelligent, and the only person who could have renovated the falling condition of his country. He is now in his bloody grave. It is a melancholy consolation to know that he died so firmly; after fighting so bravely. After fighting desperately, and cutting down several of his assassins, he was shot in his left

wrist, his shoulder and chest were cut open, so as to disable his right arm, and he had a cut on his head and face. A woman, by name Noor Salum, *fought*, and was wounded by his side, his sister and a slave boy, both wounded, remained by him, the rest of his few followers having been cut down had fled. The four retired into the house, and barred the door; Budrudeen, wounded and bleeding, ordered the boy to get down a cask of powder, break in the head, and scatter it in a small circle. He ordered the boy to escape, gave him my signet ring, which I had made him a present of, and told him to beg me, not to forget him, and to tell the Queen of England of his fate. He then called the woman to him, and when the boy had dropt through the flooring into the water, fired the powder, and all three were blown into the air. The poor rajah, with three of his brothers, was killed in a boat.

Budrudeen's boy escaped to the "Hazard," when she came in, two months after, and from him I received the account. Is not this a horrid tragedy? Is the base murderer to go unpunished? Is he to break his engagements, murder his nearest relatives, because they acted up to them, defy our power, and proclaim by his acts, that he will be a pirate? Is he to do all this with impunity? I hope not, I cannot believe it.

It is with pain that I write on this subject, yet I can write on no other, or do so very briefly.

Your book is almost forgotten in these melancholy events. I really can form no judgment on its merits,

it appears to me likely enough to possess some interest ; but it is unconnected, crude and incorrect, which can be accounted for from the extracts being made from a journal, quite unconnected, and running over several years. There is scarcely a name of a place or person rightly spelled, and the plates do not represent what they are said to represent. For instance, Makota's likeness is said to be a likeness of Muda Hassim. And Makota's house is said to be Mr. Brooke's old residence. These, however, are faults which will be observed but by few, and on the whole, though open to criticism, I trust the work will tell—the more so, because my uncle the major, gives a favourable opinion of it. Farewell—My kind regards to Mrs. Keppel, and believe me your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

P. S. — is expected from the northwards. Should he call in at Bruné, he will stand a chance of being attacked or assassinated.

No. 83.

CAPTAIN THE HON. H. KEPPEL, R. N.

“ Phlegethon,” May 6, 1846.

MY DEAR KEPPEL,

YOU will have heard the account of the brutal murder perpetrated by the Sultan of Bruné, on our poor friends, his nearest relatives. Such a catastrophe

could not be foreseen, and could scarcely have been prevented ; but beyond a doubt it arose from the active part Muda Hassim and Budrudeen had taken for the suppression of piracy in conjunction with the admiral. As long as treaties and agreements, whether for the suppression of piracy, or other purposes, are so much waste paper, so long the bad party in a state consent with a good grace, but as soon as active measures are taken for the punishment of evil doers, there is a party opposed to all European alliance.

Borneo was in a transition state, and it is therefore to be regretted that the protection begged for by Budrudeen, could not be given. They have fallen victims to their fidelity, and to our dilatory measures, and although we are greatly shocked at the event, we must still allow that the virtues of these brothers must, in a national point, retrieve even the imbecile rascality of that murderer the sultan. It is on account of their very virtues—their entire good faith, their unerring fidelity, their sincere and tried endeavour to do good—that punishment should follow such an act ; but I cannot doubt the fact, when the Government shall learn, that the sultan has committed a most brutal massacre, on our friends *as our* friends, that he has played traitor to his agreement, assumed a hostile attitude, and above all, has virtually declared his adherence to piracy. *The attempt to assassinate the captain of a man-of-war is of small moment, but every European now falling into his hands will be put to death, for a*

native once going wrong, knows not when or where to stop.

I am now, as you will see by the date, aboard the "Phlegethon," after having visited several rivers on the coast. My object has been, to prevent these communities following the sultan's example, either in murder or piracy, and I find them all ready enough to disown his authority—for the Bruné rajahs are hated in their dependencies (if they can so be called), and it was only Budrudeen's assurance, and attempt at good government, that had, in a slight measure, reconciled them to the authority of the capital.

This barbarous murder has made a deep impression upon me, and I sincerely grieve for the victims, but my personal position, instead of being injured, will probably be improved in power and influence.

I hope to live to revenge the death of my friends, and to be of some benefit, to the few who survive. If Government carries out its measures, after the punishment and deposition of the sultan, I imagine, as "the book" says, that the coast will be our own, and the poorer classes in Bruné located at our new settlement. Bruné may then be restored to its better rajahs, the brothers and relatives of Muda Hassim, and we may then command it more effectually than before; we may make the coal-mines our own virtually, and really protect the workers.

To me, personally, nothing can make up the loss of

Budrudeen, and I know not whether the noble manner of his death be a grief or a consolation.

I have little more public news to tell you, saving that your friends, the Sakarrans, are running rusty, and require another thrashing. They will find piracy a very different trade when backed by Sheriff Sahib, and when left to their own resources. How I wish you were here to concoct a great campaign against them, so as to circumvent them both by land and by water. Do, pray, carry out your views, and come quickly, and always press one point; namely, that to suppress piracy, it requires a consistent course of measures, and that it is not to be done by a desultory effort here, or a desultory effort there. In consequence of losing sight of this, the Sakarrans have taken heart again, the Borneons have conspired to murder their rulers, our friends; and every pirate and evil-disposed person lives in the hope, that our desultory efforts have terminated. Could this be, provided a permanent, though small force, were employed on the coast?

Sarawak, 11th May, 1846.—I have just returned, and Elliot at the same time arrived from Singapore, having now a voyaging observatory. — has just left, but without our meeting; his report is that forty Lanoon pirates are in or about Bruné, whether with hostile designs against the place, or whether as allies, does not seem clear; at any rate, however, the pirate communities are in full activity. Bruné will become

a nest of pirates, or it will fall before a pirate fleet, and either way, the fact would be somewhat disgraceful to us.

I congratulate you on the success of your work, a success, I must own, which I did not anticipate to be so complete. I offer no opinion of my own, being so largely mixed up in the performance, but I thank you for your kind expressions of friendship and good will. The fault of the book is its want of connection, and the frightful hash they have made of all proper names. The former is a fault the public seem not to care for, and the latter one which may be amended, if the book runs to a second edition, by letting me know beforehand, so that I may correct a copy here and send it to you.

En passant, I think you *rather a shabby fellow* for not sending me a bound copy ; for be it known to you, I do not allow an unbound work in my library. I hope you will have a review from the *Edinburgh and Quarterly*.

Farewell, my dear Keppel, I have little more to say. I have not spirits for other subjects ; delay on delay is killing me by inches, for it really seems a fatality, that neither my affairs, public or private, can be settled. I shall bear it for a season.

I should hail your arrival as the dawn of a new order of things. I heard from Charlie a short time since, and I am in hopes he will soon get home. Take care of him as your protegé, and introduce him to

a little good society at Droxford. Give my kind regards to Mrs. Keppel, and with my best wishes, believe me,

Your sincere friend,
J. BROOKE.

No. 84.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.

H. C. Steamer "Phlegethon,"
May 19, 1846.

MY DEAR JACK,

MY last letter was a most melancholy one—most melancholy from the events elsewhere, as here, but I trust the time which has since elapsed, will have soothed the keen edge of *your* misfortune, and taught you to submit with patience to the decree of Providence.

For myself, although the massacre of my friends is ever present to me, yet the evil effect the first intelligence produced on my mind and my health, has been overcome; and I look forward to the future, with the confident hope of being able to punish the murderer.

To his country, the loss of Budrudeen is irreparable, and I mourn over his untimely fate; but as far as regards our interests, I look upon the event as readily remedied, provided we act. The sultan, by this act, and by the breach of his agreement, has proclaimed himself a pirate. What can be easier than to punish the Borneons and depose the sultan, forming a

new government out of the surviving members of Muda Hassim's family, which shall cede Labuan if desired and the coal; and this coal *can now be worked*, which it would have been dangerous to do, as long as the sultan held power, or as long as there were two parties in Bruné. I should propose myself, with the deposition of the sultan, to remove the seat of government from Bruné to Mengkabong, or Kimanis, which would destroy some of their old associations, and limit their power just to a convenient pitch. That this wholesale murder was committed merely on account of the active measures taken by this family, for the suppression of piracy, there can be no doubt; but what an ignorant, brutal, barbarous villain must this sultan be—brutal in spite of his imbecility—a coward as well as a murderer. He has now lost all those, who could have guided him rightly, and you may be assured when *a native* once goes wrong, he never stops; and this murder of all his nearest relatives, as long as it goes unpunished, will give him the highest idea of his own supremacy. The fact is, if the Government desires to retain one shadow of character throughout the entire Archipelago, they must prove their abhorrence of this act by the punishment of its perpetrator: they must do something, and something consistently and steadily, to suppress piracy, or remain a laughing-stock to the pirate communities, and a terror only to their own friends and followers. If one of my favourite dreams of regenerating Bruné be now de-

stroyed, the second proposition, as you will see by a reference to the paper in Keppel's book, on the suppression of piracy, still holds good;* the coast and the people are our own, and no people look with more eagerness than do they, for our advent and influence to free them from the rule of Bruné. There is no difficulty, if we act steadily; but if we are determined not to act, it would be wiser and more prudent to lose our character with a good grace, and cease nibbling. Some good may result from evil measures carried out with energy, but good feebly performed, turns to positive evil, and the consequences fall on the faithful and the friendly.

The pirates to the north are in full activity, according to the report of —, but for what purpose, or by whom employed, yet remains a secret. Here am I in the Company's steamer, "Phlegethon," cruising from place to place, to maintain peace and order amongst the native communities. I am now laying off the Linga river; to-morrow I proceed to Kaluku, and that will end my cruising till the admiral sends. It is unlucky the admiral at this time present is in India. Should the piratical Lanoons really attack Bruné now, there will be little harm done—whether they lick Bruné or Bruné licks them; it will not be over-creditable to our vigilance or activity, but dog may eat dog, for what I care.

*This paper is published in the Appendix to "Keppel's Voyage of the Dido."

I received by the last mail a letter from Lord —, which pleased me very much, from the kind interest it expresses in my proceedings. I feel more obliged for his private good opinion, than for the public opinion of all Her Majesty's Government, with the opposition to boot. As for the Governorship of Balambangan or Labuan, I care nothing; whether I act first or second in authority, it will be no bed of roses; and you are well aware I have always grasped at greater things, and in spite of the snarl of the Dutchman, we can be supreme along the entire north-west coast of Borneo, if we please. Do tell me, whether folks in England are acquainted with the recent proclamation of the Dutch, touching their boundaries in Borneo? Do tell me, whether ministers have directly or indirectly acknowledged their *soi-disant* claims? I enclose my letter to Lord —, as I do not know how to direct it, and you will, perhaps, forward it to him by the first opportunity.

I have read Keppel's book, and as it seems to have succeeded, I need not comment much on it. My journal is certainly put to a fiery ordeal, having been printed as written, and that not all that was written, but broken into fragments—extracts with a vengeance!! Then the proper names. Heavens what a hash! Then the mistakes arising from my bad penmanship!! Did you ever hear of picking up "*boots*" in a Borneo jungle virgin to European tread; the word was intended to be "*boats*." *Mais vogue la galère*—if the world be satisfied, why should I care.

You perceive I have left no room for more, except to send every kind wish for the health and happiness of you all, and ever, my dear Jack, remain,

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

No. 85.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ,

Off Bruné, August 24, 1846.

MY DEAR JACK,

THE hour is ten o'clock of the 24th August, the place the cabin of the steamer "Phlegethon," off the river Bruné; the deck is a perfect menagerie of old women and children, who scream and roar unceasingly. Never was place less fitted for writing, yet I have a great desire, to tell you all my proceedings since I last wrote. All these women and children, amounting to forty persons, slaves included, are the unhappy survivors of Muda Hassim's family, whom I have at length rescued, from the power of their barbarous, but now frightened relative. Muda Hassim's young son is sitting laughing by my side, and I feel that I have done all that remains to be done to rescue his life, and to place him in an independent position, for his poor father's sake. You must know that the admiral, when he learned the murder of the family and the manifestations of hostility by the sultan, thought it a fitting ground for inquiry, and in consequence we

went with a squadron off the place, and with two steamers and boats ascended the river. The sultan fired directly we showed ourselves, and of course lost his forts and his town, and fled into the interior. Our loss was very slight and theirs too, for the best of reasons, namely, that the rascals would not stand long enough to allow us to kill them. This is not to be regretted, however, as with common bravery, our loss must have been severe, as their forts seven or eight in number, were strong and well built, and their guns numerous and large. The brass ordnance very fine, consisting of 68-pounders, 42's, 32's and the like, and one Spanish piece, a 32-pounder, is really worthy to be placed in St. James' Park.

For a fortnight we hunted the sultan, and tried to patch up a provisional government, but not being able to catch our fugitive, the admiral gave them a long written lecture, in the shape of a manifesto, told them to be good boys, and so we sailed for the northward.

At Tampasuk and Pandassan we caught the Lanoons in the very act of piracy, and with captured slaves aboard, who were too glad to turn evidence against their captors. These towns were destroyed without loss, and subsequently a third place called Membakut, where a fugitive from Bruné, by name Itadgee Saman had established himself and built fresh forts. Malludu was visited and found deserted, and I am in hopes, the Lanoon pirates will, after this punishment, either return to their own country, or shift their quarters to

the eastern part of the island. Besides the pirate prahu first captured, two other boats of the six, out from Tampasuk and Pandassan were taken. One of them, with from thirty-five to forty men, showed a pretty fight, by attacking two of the "Royalist's" gigs, containing in all fifteen men; but the gigs hauled off, peppered them with musketry, and after killing twenty men, captured the pirate. The other boat, with only a dozen men, was taken alongside the "Ringdove," and these unhangd rascals rose on a sudden, seized their concealed arms, run a muck, and most unhappily killed one marine and wounded six men, three of them (including the master) severely. I do not quite agree in our usual mode of treating these pirates, for I would always treat them *like gentlemen*, and rarely, and only under peculiar circumstances, subject them to a judicial proceeding. If they yielded without resistance, I would in most cases let them go, only confiscating their boat, arms, &c., and taking their slaves, or more properly captives from them; but if they resisted, if they only fired or stabbed once, I would put them all to death, excepting the captives, who are easily distinguished by their poor and squalid appearance. This mode of proceeding would save a world of trouble, and all the delays and forms of your darling mistress—the law—which was certainly never framed for the existing state of society, on the north-west coast of Borneo.

You must bear in mind that these Lanoons are mere

settlers on this coast, the other and main portion of the inhabitants being the aboriginal Dusun, and the ancient settler—the Bajow. The Dusun I formed a high opinion of generally, and the Bajow is not a bad fellow; out of twenty-three or twenty-four rivers between Pulo, Tigu, and Pandassan, there are not above two or three, the communities of which, are evil inclined. Most of them are quiet, inoffensive people, ready and willing to be ruled, and who certainly might be raised in the scale of civilization. The country to the northward is magnificent. Such ranges of hills and mountains, with Kina Balumlong over all!—such valleys with such numerous pretty fresh-water streams and luxuriant foliage! Nature has certainly done much—would that man would do something. Horses and bullocks are plentiful on the coast, they say they derived the breed of both these animals from our settlement of Balambangan—so that, that futile attempt at a settlement did something for civilization, and certainly greatly benefited the natives in this respect; you see a man, mounted on his bullock or his buffalo, with his sword, spear, and shield, riding as quietly to market as ever you did in Dorsetshire. I parted with the admiral at Malludu Bay, took a passage with Mundy of the “Iris,” to Kimanis, and thence returned to Bruné in the “Phlegethon.”

The “Hazard,” during my absence, had been left to guard the city, and on my arrival I found affairs just as I left them, namely, the sultan in the jungle

and the government in the hands of Pangeran Mumein ; not a bad man, but wanting in decision, and fearful of acting for fear of compromising himself. The admiral's manifesto had had a good effect on the people, but whilst the greater portion desired protection, and certainly were not implicated in the massacre, they feared the consequences, which might result on our departure and the sultan's return.

I had only three days to stop in Bruné, and I therefore resolved to meet, to a certain degree, any advances his Majesty might think proper to make. I did this, 1st. Because he was the sultan, and I hardly could take upon myself to depose him. 2ndly. Because he is a fool and acted upon. 3dly. Because the substantial ends of policy and justice, would be more likely to be attained. For these good reasons, I sent a message to the sultan to intimate, that he might return to his own city, and that I would be answerable for his safety there ; and in answer I received an humble letter, laying his throne and kingdom at my feet. The next day he arrived at Bruné, and took up his quarters at Pangeran Mumein's house. He requested pardon and an interview. Pardon I replied was only to be received from our Queen, upon whose flag he had fired, and that I must decline any personal interview, until he had brought the murderers of the family of Muda Hassim to justice ; and until I was convinced that he proposed to rule with justice, and called good advisers to his assistance ; at the same time I added

that he ought to ratify all the agreements he had previously made. The consequence of this was, that he addressed an humble letter to the Queen, ratifying the two former engagements, and taking the most humble tone and position, re-gave me Sarawak, with the seals of Pangeran Muda Mahomed and Pangeran Mumein, besides his own, as a guarantee; and lastly, at my request, as a matter of policy, he granted me the right of working coal. I had no authority to ask this for Government, and the sultan objected to giving it to any one else, so I was obliged to draw it out in my own name; but of course should the Government wish it, it is at their disposal, for I have no use for it myself, nor is it of any value to me, and getting it, I was acting on the chance, that they might desire it or transfer it. If not, it is so much waste paper.

The next step was, that I *forced* the sultan (though he did not object) to pay royal honours, at the graves of his murdered relatives, and after all I declined an interview on the former grounds, and left it to Mumein to see justice done, upon the offenders and the disturbers of the best government that Bruné has known for a long time. Lastly, I got almost all the family aboard this morning at three o'clock, and am now on the way to Sarawak, where I hope to be three days' hence. As a man who has more money than he can spend says, "it will cost me a pretty penny," assisting this miserable family, but it is a duty in my position. Two brothers remain—one insane from anxiety, terror,

and watching. I have written so much that I have only space to send you my best wishes and kind regards to all. Do, if they want it, let my sisters and uncle read this letter, for I cannot write four details of this kind, and I know you will be anxious to hear even as they will be.

Farewell, dear Jack, and with kind wishes, ever

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

P. S. There is every chance of your brother-in-law, Captain Gordon* coming to the Straits. If it be so, I need not say how glad I shall be to welcome him in Sarawak.

No. 86.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Sarawak, September 15, 1846.

MY DEAR JACK,

I THANK you for your letters of May and June, and am delighted to learn that everything goes on to your satisfaction.

At the same time as I received yours, came one from Mr. Wise, ticketed "private and confidential,"* in which he gives me the information, that extracts of my letters addressed to you have been handing about,

* Son of Admiral Sir Jas. A. Gordon.

† As to this subject, see Appendix (No. 1.)

which he has seen, highly injurious to him, and different in sentiment to the letters to him from myself direct. I have replied that, as he does not furnish me with these extracts, or inform me to what extent, they have been handed about, and how he came to see them, that I cannot form any judgment on the subject, though at the same time "I feel sure that any such extracts, cannot by any just interpretation be considered injurious to him, but at the same time our late difference in matters of business may therein be mentioned," or words to this effect. Will you tell me how the case stands, what these extracts are, and all about it? A mountain is made of a molehill; and I know I may trust your discretion, not to hand about any extracts which would imply distrust of my agent, although they might express dissent from his views and schemes. I am quite easy about it; but I think for the future you had better confine your confidence to Lord ——, should he desire to see my letters.

I trust very soon to be free from all business and all liability, and all the vexatious little correspondence which it involves.

I wrote you so fully by the last mail, that I have little more to add to that communication, except the welcome reception I received from all classes in Sarawak. The conquest of Bruné will have a great effect, both here and without, and will make the hearts of the people of Sakarran and Serebas very small. Our occupation of Labuan will crown the past mea-

tures ; and I doubt not that the trade, and a greater portion of the poorer and best class, will be attracted to our new settlement. I do not aim particularly at being the governor of the place, though I believe I shall accept it, if offered to me. I shall not, however, be disappointed by the appointment of another, and will do my best to insure success.

I have been building a house, for my batch of the royal family since our return, and I hope to make them comfortable, though they may not be rich. They themselves fully appreciate the security they enjoy after the anxiety of their lives in Bruné. By night and by day they were kept in a state of constant alarm from the threats of their foes, and by the reports of their friends. Never was a society more dislocated than in Bruné ; no man cares but for himself, no ties bind brother to brother, and no engagements for mutual security are relied on. They were in a balance ; they have gone plump to the opposite scale from good, and they must reap the benefit.

How delighted was I to hear, that Keppel had taken up his residence at Greenwich, and that you had come to know him so well. I envy those games at quoits ; for though it is a game I do not affect or like particularly, one may be induced to do many things in good company. Your reasons for my return home are very good, till I urge better, and moreover they are very agreeable to my wishes. The better reason is, that Sarawak is not settled enough to be quite safe without

me ; and though it may appear vain, I must say that the attachment of the people is to my person, as well as my government ; and though they appreciate the latter, they consider it as dependent on my existence. I should like very much to come home ; and should the arrangements at present in progress terminate favourably, I may entertain the idea, provided I see that Sarawak can be protected during my absence. I should at first feel very like a fish out of water ; but the cool breezes would soon brace me up, to the pitch of English society. We must consider ten years' absence, as fully equivalent to thirty in former times.

A man formerly could return to his paternal cot or his paternal palace, and find nature the same around him : the roads, the coaches, the trees, the very hedges underwent no alteration ; but now his home knows him no more—railways have burrowed or risen in all directions—ancient landmarks have been swept away—nothing remains but his friends, who, grown old like himself, he finds a fly-about race, who think nothing of a few hundred of miles before breakfast, who never repose, and who go like the engines, all puffing and hissing. Is this true ? Nothing stands still—nothing is permanent ; the current sweeps onward, as in Dante's *Inferno*, and from the midst, some torn and giddy Francisca prays your attention. Enough of this. Your father's delight in little *Dora*, will be his best consolation for his loss. How beautifully our affections suit themselves to new objects ; and, when hope in this

world is extinguished, teaches us consolation. Say everything that is kind and affectionate from me to them all, and I am sure your wife must consider me as an old friend.

Farewell! Do not trouble yourself about Mr. Wise, and write me about it. Everything must now be settled or broken up, for I have the reins in my own hands, and will not consent to any sort of speculation, or become a party to it. If afterwards people choose to speculate, be it so, as long as I have nothing to do with it. Did I tell you that we discovered a very fine coal-seam in Bruné, close to the port, and removed from the city? These might be worked to advantage some future day. *Addio!*

1st October.—I have received your letter of July, and thank you for it. I am sorry to think that Lord —— has an impression that I fight and slash too much. What can you do else with pirates? They laugh at mercy, and call it weakness. They must be taught to fear, or piracy will never be put down. It is not as though a great loss of life was sustained in these encounters. We do not wade through blood to attain our object; but by harassing we correct the evil. In all the late operations of ——, not above eight men were killed on *both sides*.

I have not time, my dear Jack, to write more now. I quite concur in all you say about Lord ——. I feel a *personal* affection and gratitude for him; and if I

have a chance, I can express it better now he is out of office. Farewell.

Your affectionate friend,
J. BROOKE.

No. 87.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Sarawak, December 4, 1846.

MY DEAR JACK,

I WAS sorry to learn from your letter of September that you had been ill, and if you have brought on the attack, from over much law and over confinement, I would rather you gained less money, and kept your naturally robust constitution unimpaired. You must not talk of being less strong, than you once were, and I shall attribute the expression to the languor of recent sickness, rather than believe that you are really and truly and permanently less capable of walking fifty miles, or jumping a turnpike-gate. You may be out of practice, I grant, but that you are otherwise less able I will not believe, till you tell me so again, and I shall then lay the blame on the law; she must be a musty old jade indeed, to have knocked you up with her nauseous doses of hard words, and the dust of the Temple. Seriously, however, my dear Jack, you must take care of yourself, and not allow a mere

casual attack to assume any permanent shape from over exertion.

I shall only thank you for the news of the Borneo question, and I agree with you that the articles in the "Chronicle" are not good, being too much in the puffing line, and dealing rather too much in gold diamonds and spices.

Now that Labuan is decided on, there is little more to say or do, till that measure is complete, and with Keppel, as governor or in command of a frigate, I can have nothing more to desire at present. Keep in mind, however, and represent, that a character of permanency is requisite to develop the trade of a settlement, and that as a mere naval station it will not possess that character, so that the sooner it passes into the Colonial Office the better.

Here we are quiet, and have not, since my return, been troubled by our neighbours of Serebas and Sakarran, but during my absence in Bruné, Makota, Sheriff Japper, and a few others of the piratical set, once in power, got up a report of the defeat of the squadron, and the death of the admiral and myself; and by this means, they stirred up the Sakarrans and Serebas to muster in force, with the avowed purpose of attacking Sarawak, but probably the real one of pillaging some weak Dyak tribes—for these gentry do not like two to play at the same game, and prefer plunder and heads, to blows or honour. The Sakarrans are distressed, but too proud to yield, yet, the Serebas

have been more leniently dealt with, and are, consequently more mischievous; and the best way to deal with them, will be to drive both tribes well up their rivers, and then turn the operations into a blockade. The want of salt, especially of iron and other necessities, will soon drive them into surrender, and then I shall not trust them till they have paid such a sum in jars and captives as they never will pay, unless forced by the direct necessity. I have demanded one hundred jars from Sakarran, and one hundred captives; I shall demand the same from Serebas. The captives of Sarawak and other places will be liberated of course, and the jars (*when we get them*) can be exchanged for other captives, or placed at the disposal of ministers. All these schemes are in petto, but I believe a little resolution and obstinacy would bring them to terms.

Makota has withdrawn to some distance, and I hope to shove him on to Bruné, which will make a very excellent penal settlement, considering so many rogues and vagabonds inhabit there already.

The intrigue was natural enough, for I cannot expect these men, under any circumstances, to forgive me for having dethroned them from their high places. I know the heart and the feeling of this people too well, to be misled for an instant by fine words, by promises, or oaths. They are wicked and unforgiving—they regret their power—blush at their defeat, and would do me a mischief if they knew how. They are however but a broken bundle of sticks, and I shall

disperse them more before I have done with them, and I believe I am as astute honestly as they are dishonestly.

Makota, the other day, composed a pantun,* on the occasion of a respectable man of Sarawak (but not nobly descended), arriving at Muka in a fine trading-boat. The sense was this—"Formerly steel alone could separate the trunk of the tree, now the very leaves rend the parent stem." The leaves are the non-noble traders on their own account.

Sarawak is "visibly swelling" and quite prosperous; we have houses springing up in all directions. The Dyaks, too, thrive, and we now only pray for a good rice crop, to keep us quite comfortable. I said I would write but little, and I have, as you see, written a great deal on the subject of Sarawak. I may add, that we have one man-of-war (the "Hazard") already here, and daily expect the "Iris," when it will be decided whether we take Labuan at once, or whether it is to be postponed until further orders from home.

The "Wolf" comes here likewise very shortly, and will be for some time to come, stationed in the Straits, so I shall have the pleasure of knowing your brother-in-law Captain Gordon.† It is probable he will be of our party to Labuan, and a few days of that sort of work, make men as well acquainted as years in misty England.

My paper warns me to be brief, or I was about to

* A song.

† He commanded H.M.S. the "Wolf."

relate other wars in which I am engaged. The most serious is a war with the wild hogs, which has now been carried on for a month, much to my discomfiture and disgrace; for whilst the jungle swine have made numerous successful forays on my land, and eaten up forty young cocoa-nut trees, I have not succeeded, with all my guns and traps, in capturing one of the enemy.

To-night I resort to that base expedient, laying out fowls, and cocoa-nuts filled with arsenic, and, moreover, I have ordered a general Dyak hunt to take place in a few days. My next letter, if I remember the subject, shall inform you of the success of these measures. Poisoning wild hogs I esteem an original, though a dastardly idea, but all is fair in such a war of extermination.

I shall have a better chance of getting home after Labuan is occupied, and I need not tell you how glad I should be to avail myself of a good opportunity.

Give my kindest regards to your lady and all my friends. I dare say I shall have the pleasure, one of these days, of making acquaintance with Miss Dora and the young gentleman.

Farewell, my dear Jack, and believe me ever

Your sincere and affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. If you have an opportunity, see Lord —, and say all that is proper, for I really feel myself greatly indebted to him for personal kindness and interest, which weighs far more with me, than any public favours.

No. 88.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Penang, March 5, 1847.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I HAD not the heart to write to you by the last mail, which I am sure you will attribute to the right cause—my sincere sorrow for the heavy loss* you have sustained. I pretend not to offer consolation, and the little, which my sincere sympathy in your misfortunes can effect, you know well, is entirely yours. A fever acting on previous ill-health, and depressed spirits, carried off your poor brother-in-law in a few days—without pain or suffering, and almost as soon as there was an apprehension of danger entertained by his medical attendants.

The event is so melancholy that I know not what to say, and I am too well aware of the deep grief his

* The death of Captain James Alexander Gordon, commander of the "Wolf," who died at Labuan, three days after it had been taken possession of as a British settlement, by Captain Rodney Mundy of H.M.S. "Iris."

family will experience, to entertain a hope that it may be lightened.

He died, it is true, beloved and respected by all who knew him; but even this at first appears an aggravation of misfortune; and time alone, with the blessing of God, can afford consolation.

I cannot write more, except to say that I am well, and still living in a miserable state of suspense. God bless you and yours, my dear friend, and believe me sincerely and affectionately,

Yours,
J. BROOKE.

No. 89.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Government House,
Singapore, May 1, 1847.

MY DEAR JACK,

I RECEIVED your long and kind letter, with Harvey's fragment, on my arrival here from Penang. I was truly sorry to hear of the severe accident which occurred to our friend, but as you mention that all danger was past, and do not mention any serious mutilation, I trust it will turn out without permanent evil consequences.*

* A serious injury sustained by Mr. Harvey by the explosion of a powder flask in his hand while shooting.

I am puzzled how Wise could have gained any knowledge of what I wrote you, but I do not believe that he saw the contents of my letters, as I called upon him to send me a copy, which he has not done. It is all jealousy—jealousy—miserable paltry jealousy—which has led him to suspect, and quarrel with every friend of mine, though how he proposes to strengthen his influence with me by so doing, I am at a loss to conceive.

We will, God willing, talk over all subjects, past present, and future, next September, for I have resolved, as surely as a reasonable animal in my position can resolve, to come home by the packet which leaves this the beginning of July. Many reasons induce me—my friends urge me—and the position of affairs in Sarawak and Bruné present, as far as I can see, no serious obstacle. I hope, or flatter myself I may have some influence, to urge on ministers the necessity of a decided course, for the suppression of piracy. It can be put down, if we pursue a steady course instead of making mere convulsive efforts. Serebas and Sakarran would soon yield before a constant gentle pressure. Sulu, the great nucleus and slave market, must be detached or crushed. I laugh at half measures as applied to such an evil; we might as well apply mesmerism.

I did not mean to write politics, but here I have plunged into the midst. Sarawak will be safe during

my absence, for the natives are attached to me, present or absent, by the very best of all ties—self-interest.

I am (directly my treaty can be got ready) ordered to proceed to Bruné, to get the sultan's signature appended thereto, and I anticipate no difficulty.

Whilst the translations are preparing I have not hesitated to detach the "Nemesis" in search of a large pirate fleet, which is cruising about Lingin and Banca Straits. The Dutch authorities reported it here, and the account is confirmed by several natives from that part of the world. Rumour says, that the fleet consists of eighty prahus of a large size, from Sulu and its vicinity—that they have captured very many traders, and engaged, twice, the Dutch gun-boats, without sustaining defeat; moreover, that they passed, in bravado, in front of the small Dutch station Mintow, on Banca, so near that an American merchant-ship fired at them, from the anchorage.

I have nothing else to tell you. I will not revert to any painful subject; but look steadily forward to our meeting; now that the idea has once got into my head it daily grows in intensity.

Farewell, ever dear friend,

Most affectionately yours,

J. BROOKE.

No. 90.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

"Precursor," Red Sea, September 7, 1847.

MY DEAR JACK,

THANK you for your kind letter, which I received at Aden, and for the promised one at Malta.

My fate has been rather a hard one for a man in a hurry. We broke down for want of coal between Penang and Galle, put into Trincomalee, lost our passage in the "Calcutta" steamer for England, and were turned out to grass for a month. I made the best of my time, and visited the central province of Kandy, where I had the pleasure of passing some days with our old friends, Jolly and Hew Dalrymple. At Aden I received your letter, and saw my nephew, Alfred Brooke, who is in the Indian Navy. We are now more than half way from that place to Suez, suffering from heat. These steamers are almost as well managed, considering all things, as they well could be; but after all it is a miserable existence—splendid and monotonous. It is the Inferno, with a French cook and cool claret. My detention will quite disarrange your plans; and I shall not now think of meeting you either in Marseilles or Paris, but proceed direct to Southampton. I propose, in the first place, staying a few days in London, which is absolutely necessary to obtain a decent outfit; after which, and a visit to my

relations, I shall be much at your service, my dear Jack, and take possession of my room in your mansion. The steamer will not be in Southampton, before the 26th, and probably not till the 28th. I need not say how glad I shall be to meet you there; but you will probably meet Mr. Wise. Therefore do as you think best, and what is most agreeable to yourself. I have written to have some rooms taken at Mivart's, or some other good hotel, at the West end. Should I not see you at Southampton, you shall hear from me the instant I arrive in London. Mrs. Templer will excuse me for not answering at present her letter. I have, however, done as she wished, which I trust will be some slight consolation.

We had, as you know, or do not know, a smart brush with the pirates, just before I left—a finishing polish ere I took flight. The definitive treaty with Borneo comes home at the same time with me. I found not the slightest difficulty in concluding it. Farewell, my dear Jack; and with my best wishes for our speedy meeting, believe me,

Your sincere and affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. I hear that Keppel has got a ship and sailed. If this be true, I shall be selfish enough to regret it.
Addio.

No. 91.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Hillingdon Grove, Sunday,
October 3, 1847.

MY DEAR JACK,

I RECEIVED your letter on landing, reached town late the same night (Friday), on Saturday having transacted business with my tailor and hatter, and on the evening came down here with the Savages to join a large party of young ladies.

I am lodged at Mivart's Hotel, Lower Brook-street, where I shall be again to-morrow morning.

Now, dear Jack, how shall we best meet? If I possibly can, I propose leaving town on next Monday week, and running down to Lackington. Will not this do?

I should like to see you all at Bridport, and I dare say the Johnsons will spare me for a couple of days. Say all that is kind to your father, and congratulate Willy. My kind regards to Mr. Raymond. I saw his old friend, Sir Christopher Rawlinson, at Galle. Let me hear directly your plans and wishes, and direct to me at Mivart's Hotel.

Ever yours, in haste,

J. BROOKE.

The foregoing letter was written immediately on Sir James Brooke's return to England. The editor met him in London on the 6th of October, after a nearly nine years' absence. How much had he accomplished in that interval! What a revolution had he effected, both amongst the Malay states and upon the public opinion at home! His letters had been, for some time previous to his return, by both the Editor and his agent, Mr. Wise, occasionally submitted to certain Members of the Government; while the publication of the earlier portion of his journal by Captain Keppel, in the year 1846, had made his position generally known, and prepared the public mind for his reception. He returned to be fêted and lionized. He received the distinguished honour of the knighthood of the Bath; he was made Governor of Labuan, and Commissioner and Consul-general to the native states in Borneo. After a brief stay of four months in his native country, he embarked with his suite on board H.M.S. "Mæander" in February, 1848, for the seat of his new government. The letters for the following years narrate the events that awaited him there, and display the resolution and ability by which every adverse element was met and turned, and the noble sentiments which guided him through a long course of calumny and persecution, which, to the discredit of this country be it said, has had more than a single parallel. He would not be neglected as Sir Stamford Raffles had

been ; but he might be persecuted with the same perseverance and bitterness, that had been exhibited at different periods of our history against Sir Walter Raleigh and Warren Hastings ; and these the sequel will show he found.

CHAPTER VI.

MR. BROOKE'S RELATIONS WITH MR. WISE.

THE letters contained in this chapter, although disconnected in the order of their dates, are inserted here to show in one view the relations of Sir James Brooke with Mr. Wise.

They were originally published, in the Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee on the Ordnance and Army Expenditure, and were placed before that Committee, in consequence of certain questions which were asked respecting Sir James Brooke being engaged in commercial transactions.

Mr. Wise had acted as Sir James Brooke's agent from the year 1841 to the year 1848, and had acquired Sir James Brooke's confidence, chiefly by the services he had rendered, and the trouble he had taken, in getting Sir James Brooke's position at Sarawak fairly before the several departments of Government. Those services and that trouble consisted, in placing his employer's letters and correspondence in the proper

hands, and communicating with the several departments of Government upon them.

The letters themselves from the noble spirit in which they were couched, and the statesmanlike views they continually presented, at length attracted the ministry of the day, first to enquire into, and afterwards to adopt and support, the policy in the Eastern Archipelago which Sir James Brooke had so long and so ably advocated.

Extract from Report of Committee on the Army and Ordnance Expenditure, 9th July, 1850.

*Chairman.**—Is there any further information, that you wish to give the Committee respecting Labuan, upon which you were examined upon a former day?

The Right Hon. Earl Grey.—In consequence of the questions which were asked, when I attended before the Committee the first time, respecting Sir James Brooke, being engaged in commercial transactions, I thought it right to make some enquiry upon the subject, and Mr. Hawes having ascertained that there was a friend of Sir James Brooke in London, who was able to supply complete information upon the subject, I desired him to write to ask that gentleman, Mr. Templer, for that information; and I now hold in my hand, a letter which has been received from him, which I think completely explains the exact position in which Sir James Brooke stands. The letter proves as I think, that the nature of the transaction was ex-

* Lord Seymour.

actly what I anticipated, that he wished to levy a revenue, for the purpose of the government of Sarawak, from the monopoly of antimony, and that the different transactions which were alluded to, arose out of that circumstance, and that his object was to disconnect himself, as much as possible from all commercial transactions. I will put in this paper, which will give complete information to the Committee upon the subject. — (*The same was delivered in.*)

Mr. Hume.—Does that letter state that Sir James Brooke is in no way connected or engaged, in commercial transactions in the sale of antimony?

Earl Grey.—As I know nothing more than is contained in these letters, perhaps the better way will be that I should put in the letters, and leave the Committee to draw their own inference from them. My own inference certainly is, that he has no interest whatever in any commercial transactions at all.

Mr. Cobden.—Do you attach the weight of your own authority to that statement?

Earl Grey.—Not at all, except that it is a letter addressed to me by a person, that I believe fully entitled to credit. What is more important, I think it is completely supported by the letters of Sir James Brooke, which it encloses, which were written at the time, and show exactly what he has done. Those letters go back as far as 1845, and come down to the present time, and I think they completely explain the nature of all the transactions, in which he has been engaged with Mr. Wise.

EXTRACT FROM APPENDIX, BEING THE PAPERS
REFERRED TO BY EARL GRAY.

Correspondence relating to Labuan.

10, Farrar's Buildings, Temple,
July 2, 1850.

SIR,

I HAVE much pleasure in replying to yours received on the 29th ultimo, because having been in close and unbroken correspondence with Sir James Brooke, as his personal friend, from the time he left England in 1838 to the present period, and also having in my possession, the letters that passed between him and his former agent, Mr. Wise, I feel I can supply the information required by Lord Grey.

There is no doubt Sir James Brooke is not in any way engaged in mercantile speculations, nor when he was Mr. Brooke, could such an assertion properly have been applied to him.

I will give you the facts as briefly as possible:—

When Mr. Brooke first visited Sarawak, he found the poorer classes miserably oppressed by their Malay rulers, chiefly through the monopolies of every useful and valuable production, and which the rajahs farmed as an alleged means of revenue. When Mr. Brooke undertook the government, he did away with all the monopolies, excepting that of the antimony ore, as his private fortune—though liberally applied—was insufficient to meet the expenses of the Government, and

to carry out to the full, the advancement and amelioration of the native races, which was the great object he had at heart; in other words, he commuted all the taxation, which had been before levied on the rice, salt, birds'-nests, &c., into the single revenue derived from the antimony ore; and his mode of raising this, was by exporting the ore to England, and receiving back the returns in money or bills. These returns were applied to the expenses of his government, and any surplus—which however he never had—he intended to apply to his main object, the advancement of the people, and the amelioration of their condition, considering himself as the mere trustee for the benefit of the Sarawak people of the monies thus obtained. Things were in this state when Mr. Wise went out to him at Sarawak in 1845; and while on his visit there Sir James, then Mr. Brooke, for the reasons therein expressed, signed (for all but the signature is in Mr. Wise's handwriting) the letter of which I enclose a copy, marked No. 1, in substance agreeing to divide with Mr. Wise the profits accruing from Sarawak after payment of expenses, such agreement to last during mutual convenience. Possessed of this document, Mr. Wise returned to England, and commenced at once upon operations, which Mr. Brooke considered as detrimental to the development of the country, and at variance with the spirit of the agreement. The correspondence that passed between them at this period, sufficiently marks the difference of their views and motives, and after

continued checks from Mr. Brooke, he, Mr. Brooke, definitively put an end to the agreement, by his letter of the 1st March, 1846 (a copy of which I also enclose, marked No. 2), and for the reasons which I must say, are therein so candidly and firmly given. After this, Mr. Brooke, continuing as he had been from the first, most averse to the details attending the shipment of the ore, reiterated his instructions to Mr. Wise, to lease to any London capitalists, but capital was the *sine quâ non* of his instructions; and a lease Mr. Wise effected, with two London merchants Mr. Melville and Mr. Street, as joint lessees, on the 1st September, 1846. The sequel, however, showed them not to be men of capital; for after working the mines and paying the rent, or rather royalty reserved under the lease, for about twelve months, they became bankrupt, and virtually the lease was surrendered, and Sir James reverted to his original position; exporting as before the ore to England, and intending to apply the proceeds to the purposes of revenue, but he has not as yet, I believe, received any proceeds. The views taken by Sir James Brooke as to the conduct of the lessees, and his position with respect to them, are very clearly shown in the two further letters of his, dated 25th and 26th August, 1848, to Mr. Wise, (copies of which, marked Nos. 3 and 4, I also enclose). Very recently, Sir James has leased the ore to fresh lessees, upon very similar terms to those of the first lease; but I am not aware that

as yet anything has been done under it, beyond the mere agreement.

Such are the simple facts of the case ; and upon these facts the charge made against him of his being, as a servant of the Crown, engaged in mercantile speculations, must stand or fall. He does not buy and sell ; but in taking advantage of the monopoly of the antimony ore for the purposes of revenue, and the benefit of the people of Sarawak, he stands in the position rather of the landowner, who works his stone or lime for the benefit of his estate, or more nearly in that of the Crown itself with respect to the Crown revenues, of neither of whom, could it be properly said that, in disposing of the products of their estates, they were engaged in mercantile speculations.

In conclusion, I need scarcely say that the whole correspondence that I have mentioned is at the service of Her Majesty's Government, and I have only been prevented from sending it entire, in consequence of its great length ; but you may rest assured, the more it is examined in every part, the more highly will it raise the estimation of Sir James Brooke for honour, high principle, and general unselfishness of character.

I have been absent in the country since Saturday, or you should have had this on that day.

I remain, &c.,

B. Hawes, Esq.

JOHN C. TEMPLER.

(No. 1.)

No. 92.

Sarawak, Feb. 20, 1845.

MY DEAR WISE,

I HAVE the pleasure to communicate to you an arrangement that I have determined upon regarding my future trading concerns in this country, viz. :—

1. In consideration of your services during the last two or three years, whereby the Government recognition of my proceedings in Borneo has at length been obtained, I hereby consent to your joint participation with myself, in all profits arising from my several transactions here, after the payment of the annual expenses of my establishment (an estimate of which I have already given you), and of Mr. Ruppel's allowances.

2. In order to afford Mr. Ruppel sufficient time to close the present accounts, I propose that this arrangement commences on the 1st April next.

3. The antimony ore, and all other shipments of produce from hence on my account, will be consigned to your London firm for realization, and account sale thereof rendered to me direct.

4. The establishment by you of another house at Singapore, the proposition of the sultan of Sambas, and the continuance or otherwise of my present arrangements with Messrs. Boustead, Schwabe, and Co., I leave, with all matters of detail, entirely to yourself and to your London firm for decision.

5. Duration of this agreement—our mutual convenience.

J. BROOKE.

*Henry Wise, Esq., H.M.S. "Driver,"
Sarawak River.*

No. 93.

Extract.—J. BROOKE TO H. WISE.

May 8, 1845.

WHAT is ultimately to be looked at is, the development of the country, and you may rest assured I will not draw back from our arrangement of dividing whatever may turn up. I trust you will not touch the money left in Cameron's hands, as I much wish to leave it entire as a nest-egg on which I can fall back.

(No. 2.)

No. 94.

Sarawak, March 1, 1846.

MY DEAR WISE,

IN my letter of the 10th February I stated to you the inevitable disaster, which would accrue from a precipitate adoption of your views in Bruné; and in my present communication, which I will endeavour to make as brief as possible, I propose referring to our personal arrangements, so that in future we may fully understand each other's objects, and decide upon the

line of conduct which is ultimately to be pursued. In the first place, I have given you extensive powers to act for me ; but it must be understood you have no powers to act independently of me ; as I alone bear the responsibility, I alone must decide on the adoption or rejection of measures ; and no case can, in my opinion, arise in England of so urgent a nature that it cannot be postponed, pending my sanction. In the second place, is our agreement during mutual convenience to divide any profits which might accrue from my situation in Sarawak.

I regret, I confess, having ever entered into this arrangement, because it has, I fear, excited exaggerated expectations on your part, and it might seem to imply, that I was desirous of profit, distinct from the advantages arising from the improvements of Sarawak. This agreement was entered into on my part for the purpose of benefiting you, and in total ignorance of any extraneous sources of profit accruing to myself, and I now consider it fortunate that the misunderstanding is likely to be cleared up. The terms I have offered in my last letter I consider so liberal, that if half the amount you anticipate can be realized from antimony, you will gain substantial advantages by the acceptance, in conjunction with others, of my offer ; whilst I shall be able to refund a portion of my outlay, and be placed in an independent position, whence I can look forward to the future advancement of the revenue of Sarawak.

I have, during the past month, given the most serious attention to my present position, and to the line of conduct which it is incumbent on me to pursue; and I have endeavoured in all sincerity to arrive at such a conclusion as to satisfy my own mind.

The result is, that I consider that I cannot, directly or indirectly, make any profit beyond what I have already stated, more especially from any company which may hereafter be formed to work the coal of Bruné, and to develop the resources of the various rivers. You may rightly reap an advantage from this, or any other enterprise of a similar nature; but so essentially different is the position in which I am placed, that I could not do so without the loss of reputation, not only in the opinion of the world, but likewise in my own estimation. I am pledged to the good government of Sarawak, and I am bound not to risk the welfare of this people from any motives, whether of cupidity or ambition. Should I, therefore, consent to include Sarawak in an enterprise embracing many objects, and sell the rights I have acquired to a company, it would, in fact, be to hazard the prosperity and quiet which exists here, on a project which might fail in its numerous ramifications, both in conception and execution. It would be to exchange certainty for uncertainty, happiness for money.

For nearly the same reasons the same conduct must be pursued regarding the profits which I might derive from the coal of Bruné, for, taking into consideration

my friendship for the rajah and Budrudeen, and the entire confidence they place in my integrity, my duty is plainly to reap for them the golden harvest which you offer me.

Whether it be through a company, or through an individual, the only safe basis for working the coal-mines of Bruné will be by amply remunerating the rajahs ; and provided at some future time, the authorities there should grant you the right of working coal at a stated yearly rent for a limited term of years, and that you should resell this right to a company, any profits which may accrue as my share—profits which you assure me will be vast—I make over to my Bruné friends.

I repeat again, that I can in no wise participate in profits, which may arise out of a formation of a company, or any other project started in England, for it is incumbent on me to continue independent, in order to judge correctly the measures calculated to benefit this country ; and a correct judgment is only to be formed when all prospects of pecuniary advantage have been discarded, excepting such as flow naturally in the course of time and improvement.

I have thus stated the decision at which I have arrived, after the most mature and serious consideration of the subject ; and I am convinced it is the only decision which could ultimately ensure my own happiness, and the welfare of those entrusted to my government.

By this determination, our agreement for a partici-

pation of profits, an agreement formed on my part in ignorance of the source whence these profits were to accrue, is virtually at an end ; but although I decline participating in these contemplated advantages, there is no reason to deter you from prosecuting your plans and reaping the harvest when the proper time arrives.

If your calculations be correct, and if you avoid the inevitable disasters which must result from precipitate measures, I still see no ultimate bar for your profiting by this golden prize : for, with your abilities, you can in due season, influence the monied interests to enter on a project, which you deem so highly advantageous. No one will rejoice more in your good fortune than myself, and you need not doubt my entire willingness to advance your interests, as far as I possibly can consistent with higher considerations. I will give any project you entertain a fair and candid review, and you may rest assured, I shall pass a more lenient judgment, for not myself being a participator in the expected profits. In justice to you and myself, I have stated plainly, and I hope clearly, the reasons which have induced me to adopt this line of conduct, and although you may disagree with the conclusion at which I have arrived, I feel sure you will appreciate the motives which have actuated me. *

In conclusion, I beg you to consider with candour what I have urged, and to reflect seriously on the different positions in which we are placed ; positions so

different, that what is right in one case is wrong in the other. Above all, believe in the sincere regard and well wishes of

Yours,

J. BROOKE.

(No. 3.)

No. 95.

Singapore, August 25, 1848.

MY DEAR WISE,

AFTER three years of correspondence, and four months of personal intercourse with yourself, I find myself more harassed by commercial affairs, than when I first urged you to clear me from them.

During the whole of this time you have received the clearest instructions from me, and the arrangements in England have been entirely in your hands, and yet I find myself no nearer my object than at first. I find myself exposed to responsibility; with my affairs unsettled, and that purporting to carry out my views, and to promote my interests, you have entirely failed in doing so.

I am willing to place the best construction on the causes which have led to this failure, and which have misled you, yet you cannot be surprised at my taking steps to put an end to a state of things so unsatisfactory.

Having premised thus much, I may inform you that your instructions (to Messrs. Duff and Ruppel) for stopping the working of the antimony; for interrupting

the communication between Singapore and Sarawak, by laying up the "Julia," and for the non-payment of the royalty during the present year, has been received.

As the last of these instructions is of a more personal nature, I shall address to you a separate communication on the subject, and content myself here by briefly recurring to the instructions furnished to you at the time, the lease was granted of the antimony ore ; and pointing out to your most serious consideration, the tendency of measures you are pursuing ; the certain injury which must accrue to the lessees, and the undoubted breach of the spirit, if not the letter of the engagements entered into with me.

The present communication is chiefly to guard the lessee from the fatal and inevitable results, which will follow the adoption of the course proposed by you ; the second one, to take the best measures for the better understanding and settlement of my affairs.

After recurring often to my desire to be relieved from the intricacies and fluctuations of commerce ; after pointing out the means by which, with the outlay of a moderate capital, the price of antimony ore on the spot might be greatly reduced, and the facility and certainty of procuring it greatly increased ; I directed you to grant a lease of it to a few capitalists ; and I stated that the capital necessary at the outset would be 20,000*l.*, which sum might subsequently be increased as should be found requisite.

For some time, however, I failed in inducing you to fulfil these instructions, and I was forced to address you in peremptory terms on the subject, at the same time informing you that I would not enter into any speculation or participate in any gains which might accrue. I informed you that I trusted and looked forward to the improvement and prosperity of Sarawak for the increase of my pecuniary resources, and not to other sources which might risk the happiness of my people for money. On the receipt of these stronger instructions, you accordingly granted a lease to Mr. Melville and Mr. Street; an agreement was drawn up between us, and I made over bonâ fide property to a large amount, into the hands of the agents appointed by these lessees. At the same time I expressed my satisfaction at the conclusion of the agreement, under the firm belief that you had carried out my instructions and complied with my wishes and directions. My views you will find fully laid down for your guidance; and the very spirit and intention of this arrangement you will find expressed in the following extract of a letter addressed to yourself:—

“Bear in mind, always, (I wrote,) that the object on my part is the development of the resources of this country, and the party farming the ore will lay out capital in opening new channels for industry and wealth in land, in trade, in manufacture, and in any project which holds out reasonable prospects of advantage. I could not do this, capitalists can, and no doubt will.”

I make no remark on this beyond asking, were the lessees capitalists? Have they acted according to the spirit of the agreement so clearly laid down? Have they laid out money to develop the resources of Sarawak? Have they paid for the property I made over to their agent? Have not my interests been implicitly entrusted to your care in England? And what has been the result? I must add that, pending these arrangements, and whilst my interests were in your hands, I was addressed by another gentleman on the subject, and assured that, if the same terms offered to you were offered to him, that he would guarantee to lay down the 20,000*l.* for the commencement of the undertaking, and conclude the lease with parties, whom any person I liked to appoint might decide to be capitalists or otherwise; that the fact should be placed beyond a doubt that the lessees were men possessed of capital. I refused to listen to any proposals of the sort, as being unjust to you, and to you I confided the arrangement.

Without referring to what might have been, I will say that the lessees being unable from want of capital, to carry out the spirit of their engagement, or to support the slightest reverse or fluctuation in trade, would have done well to have apprised me of their wish to nullify their agreement, and in case they were not in a situation to repay in money the price of the property received from me, might have returned the property itself, consisting of houses, vessels, boats, and

antimony ore, which are now in Sarawak. Their misfortunes would then be entitled to respect and forbearance; but instead of this clear and candid course, the hand-to-mouth system is to be pursued; expenses are to be reduced with a ruthless want of consideration; natives ruined without compensation. and the lessees themselves, placed in such a position in future, that they never will be able to retrieve their affairs during the short period of the lease; they will have lost character and confidence, and every penny saved now will cost a pound in future. And why is all this mass of ruin and confusion? I answer, because the requisite capital for such an undertaking is wanting.

I will now proceed, but it must be briefly, to point out to you the consequences of your recent instructions.

First. You have instructed Mr. Ruppel to stop the working of antimony ore. On a former occasion the same instructions were sent and partially carried into effect, and the consequence was that, when a few months afterwards it was necessary to increase the amount to the standard consumption, the natives refused to work; they said that they had been stopped in their usual avocation, and greatly distressed by the sudden want of work; that their distress was now past, they had other employment more certain, and as good; they did not wish to work antimony ore again. Mr. Ruppel could not obtain the ore, and it was at his

request, when my influence was exerted, that the affairs of the lessees were saved from confusion, and that they were enabled to supply the usual quantity of ore for the market.

Now that the same instructions are sent out, what are the consequences likely to follow? Is it not certain that they will be the same as before? Will the workmen be less distressed? Will their distress be alleviated by the consideration, that it was my influence which induced them to renew an employment subject to sudden and capricious changes? No. They will consider it as amounting to a breach of faith, and I must explain to them, that if I have been the innocent cause of their misfortune once, I will never be so again. When the ore is wanted, and wanted it shortly must be, how will the lessees obtain it? My influence they cannot expect to command again. Do they propose to force the labourers to work? Probably they look forward to the introduction of labourers; the labourers will be unaccustomed to their work, and surely a calculation might be made of the cost of this plan; and this plan will, in every probability, create jealousy and distrust amongst the Malays against the imported labourers; the distress will be great, though temporary, amongst the poor men employed now; the derangement of the work complete; and if the lessees can manage to establish a regular supply again, it will be after they have suffered considerable pecuniary loss, and that the termination of the lease is near at hand.

All this is to result, because it is inconvenient to lose the interest (for a few months or a year), of a few thousand pounds; and this is the effect of attempting to carry on trade without capital.

These consequences of your instructions to stop working the antimony ore are bad enough, and certain enough to produce distress to the natives and loss to the lessees; but the interruption of the communication between Sarawak and Singapore, will cause ruin to a greater number, ensure loss to the lessees, and injure their reputation with the population at large.

I consider that the lessees are, by the spirit of their engagement, bound to keep open a communication between Sarawak and Singapore; they are, certainly bound to carry over my property, and I have property every month to carry over; but for the saving of 200*l.* at most, they have, without the slightest consideration, or reference to me, sent peremptory instructions to lay up the schooner "Julia," and to break off the regular intercourse between the two places.

The consequence of the interruption of this regular communication will be, the certain ruin of an excellent population, and the loss to the lessees.

The Kling bazaar of shopkeepers and traders, several hundred in number, as well as a number of Chinese traders and retail dealers, are totally dependent on the regular passages of the schooner; and it is beyond doubt that her withdrawal will cause their ruin, and oblige them to leave the country. A few months will effect their ruin as well as a longer time; and this is

the only development of Sarawak, which is or ought to have been the very base of my engagement with the lessees.

The regular communication between Sarawak and Singapore has been an increasing source of profit ; and the transit of antimony ore is now 6s. a ton instead of 1*l.* per ton, as it formerly was ; this reduction of expense having been effected by the confidence the natives have gained, and their carrying their goods and persons between the two places in the schooner. When the schooner runs again, this source of profit will be closed up or superseded, and the ruin or removal of numerous consumers will cause a greater loss in the opium farm, than any possible saving which could be effected. Again, I ask you, for what object is all this amount of misery and pecuniary loss ? At the worst calculation, for the immediate saving of a few hundred pounds, though in all probability the schooner would in a few months fully pay herself, without the freight of antimony. Mr. Duff will acquaint you with the steps I have taken, to save the lessees from the fatal consequences of your instructions, and the guarantee I have given to save that gentleman from pecuniary loss should it occur ; and the "Julia" will continue to run until the answer be received to this letter. Should the lessees charge me with the expenses of the "Julia," other arrangements must be made, and they will experience the evil consequences. The loss will fall on them, my part being only to save the native population from the distress and ruin which these hasty and peremptory

instructions would occasion. I have now performed an unpleasing and tedious task, and I conclude as I commenced, by saying that I am more harassed by commercial business than I was four years ago. Petty savings, are inconsistent with great designs and enlarged views; savings, indeed, they are not in the end, but heavy losses. I trust you will reflect seriously on what I have written, and

Believe me, &c.,

J. BROOKE.

(No. 4.)

No. 96.

Singapore, August 26, 1848.

MY DEAR WISE,

YOU acquaint me, for the second time, in your letter of June, that my royalty for 1848, has been anticipated; I was not aware you considered it so, nor yet can I guess how it can, or ought to be so, and as you enter into no particulars, and furnish no accounts, I am as much in the dark as ever. I have already written you my views on the subject, and I trust that they will convince you that the lessees must discharge, from part of the balance due to me, the sum I borrowed from Messrs. Gladstone and Co. The question being a serious one, and as I now propose to arrive at a clear and final understanding of my position, I must go over the matter again, and allow Mr. Cameron to judge for me what is best to be done; for I have no leisure to attend to the details, and my ignorance of technicalities

and forms, precludes my arriving at a proper conclusion on the subject.

You will oblige me, therefore, by furnishing Mr. Cameron with every particular respecting my affairs, and showing the agreement or lease granted by me to Mr. Melville and Mr. Street. I have already told Mr. Cameron all that I know of the matter, and have made him acquainted with my views and wishes.

I wish a final settlement of my accounts ; I wish to know who are responsible for the balance you allow to be due : I wish to know who are the lessees, and what is the proper and legal interpretation of the lease, they hold under me for the next three years.

You will be pleased personally to explain these matters to Mr. Cameron, as besides saving you a good deal of trouble, you will then have a gentleman to deal with well acquainted with business, and in whom I have the greatest confidence. I trust everything may be explained, and my mind relieved from the doubts which have lately oppressed it, in consequence of the (to me) apparently intricate nature of the accounts. Ever since this lease was granted I have been seeking to be absolved from all responsibility and trouble of commercial affairs, and yet it seems that temporary fluctuation at home is to cause ruin to Sarawak ; that the lessees are not in a position to meet any, or the slightest pressure ; that the balance due to me is not readily to be realized, and that I am to pay Messrs. Gladstone and Co., instead of the lessees,

whom I have all along concluded were responsible to me, and would have discharged my debt; I trust therefore, that you will enter fully and unreservedly on the subject with Mr. Cameron, and let it be settled if possible, for ever. There are three ways, in one of which this must be decided; the first is, that the lease must be considered as a portion of the assets of the firm of Melville and Co., and that I become a creditor of the firm that held the lease. This, however, is not the case, as you have yourself assured me, and as I am convinced, for had it been, it could not have been proposed to grant a renewed lease to other parties. The firm, then, of Melville and Co. were not the leaseholders, though Mr. Melville and Mr. Street were so in an individual capacity. Supposing the firm to be the holders of the lease, I should of course desire (at any sacrifice) to do what was just and proper, and to share with others the loss that must accrue. In this case, however, the property now in Sarawak and Singapore, belongs to the creditors as well as the lease, and with the lease the responsibilities imposed by it. This is but supposition.

My dealings with Melville and Co., and with Cruikshank, Melville, and Co., appear to me to have been of a very simple character. They were agents, and agents only; they furnished me with credit, and I covered the credit by shipments of antimony ore consigned to them. The balance now due to me is not in their character as agents (supposing the firm to be my

debtors), but as lessees, for *bonâ fide* property made over to them on the 1st of September, 1846.

The next case which presents itself is, that the lessees, whoever they may be, are my debtors: that they hold the lease and the responsibilities attached to it. This appears to me the just and proper view. The lease, I contend, was granted to Mr. Street and Mr. Melville, and not to the firm of Melville and Co. The property, *bonâ fide* property, was made over to the lessees, and the lessees must therefore be responsible for the price of this property, for that and no other is the nature of the balance due to me. As I before wrote, Messrs. Melville and Co. were my agents, Mr. Melville and Mr. Street the lessees who received the *bonâ fide* property. If the lease, and property in Singapore and Sarawak belong to those gentlemen, they are responsible, or the parties who may have purchased the lease are responsible for the balance due to me. Any confusion of accounts cannot effect the equity of the case, but I am aware that law requires forms, and that an error in form may render an equitable claim of no avail. It is on this point that Mr. Cameron can help us, and I shall be well pleased to find the view in equity is, as I believe, correct, and likewise legal.

There is the third view of the case which I should never have entertained, did it not appear to me to be implied in your last letter. It is this: That the lease and property at present at Sarawak and Singapore is not belonging to the firm of Melville and Co., but that

my balance (the price of that or similar property) is to be included in the accounts of the insolvent firm. Who used the ground, the boats, the tools, the vessel? Who profited by the antimony ore? Who? The lessees! Who have this property now? The lessees.

I cannot, and indeed will not believe the case possible, and should it prove correct, then Mr. Cameron's services are more needful than ever.

I hope that is merely an ill-considered expression in your letter, and if it be so, you have yourself only to blame, for causing distrust in a mind not naturally open to it.

One other subject alone remains, and that is, the sum which I borrowed from Messrs. Gladstones and Co. What has this debt to do with the royalty due by the lessees for the year 1848? What has a private transaction to do with a public revenue? Why this confusion and admixture of accounts. It is quite irregular; it is sudden, ill-considered and inconvenient.

I have acquainted Mr. Cameron with my wishes, and I at no time wish an involved account. My accounts are simple. Messrs. Gladstones and Co. should send me their account current for discharge, at the same time the lessees (who are unconnected, as far as I know with the firm of Gladstones and Co.) should regularly or quarterly pay the royalty, or if they cannot pay, desire me to pay myself from their property in Sarawak, and so end a lease, which, from want of funds, can be of no advantage to them, and which

is of great detriment to myself and many poor people. I have little more to say; I trust that you will fully explain to Mr. Cameron the entire subject I have written on, and that the explanation may be satisfactory and conclusive; nothing will give me greater pleasure. Your expressions have caused some distrust, easily to be removed, and I shall await with patience, and a mind ready to judge with candour. I am aware of the value of your services: I sincerely wish to retain the same high opinion of you I have ever held, and to be convinced that my pecuniary interests have not suffered in your keeping. I have been long aware of your inimical feeling towards myself, and of your suspicion that I am seeking an occasion to discard you; but it is not so; your opinion cannot influence my conduct, it cannot make me forgetful of what is due to you for your services; and after a satisfactory explanation. I shall be happy to see you attain the object of your ambition. I repeat again, I wish to act with justice and with candour.

Believe me, &c,

J. BROOKE.

P. S. As the year will be nearly at a close on your receiving this, the royalty may cease, provided I am obliged to bear the loss; in 1849 I shall demand a quarterly payment.

In addition to the above correspondence which so clearly indicates the relative positions, Mr. Wise, in

the course of the debates 1851, caused a paper to be printed, headed "For members only," in which he accused Mr. Drummond* of having, "*in breach of private and mercantile confidence,*" read to the House of Commons sundry "*garbled extracts,*" from the confidential business correspondence of Mr. Wise and Sir James Brooke, and asserted, that "*Sir James Brooke and he, Mr. Wise, were partners in business.*"

In answer to these statements Sir James Brooke, at the time, printed and circulated the following comment, which will be found particularly to refer to the foregoing letters contained in this chapter.

"COMMENTS.

"As to '*breach of private and mercantile confidence:*' It must be remembered that, in addition to the question of the Serebas and Sakarran piracy, one of the charges against Sir James Brooke, was, that as a Government servant, he was engaged in mercantile speculations. No breach of private or mercantile confidence was committed, by showing that this charge was falsely trumped up by a discarded agent, shortly after he had been called on to render an account; and Mr. H. Drummond most properly exposed the character and conduct of Mr. Wise as that agent, and proved that Mr. Hume's whole attack on Sir James Brooke was to be traced to the machinations of that person.

"As to '*garbling the extracts:*' That the extracts

* The member for West Surrey.

were not garbled, the whole correspondence in Mr. Wise's possession will show ; and he dares not publish it, as he well knows that it would refute the assertion.

“ As to the being ‘ *then and now partners in business* :’ Mr. Wise proposed a partnership to Sir James Brooke in 1843, and on its being declined, wrote as follows :— ‘ I hope your candour, and desire to avoid any over-colouring of the question at this particular crisis, will not have the effect of cooling the disposition to act promptly, and for your interest favourably, which Sir Robert Peel's correspondence evinces.’— ‘ *I observe your reasons for steering clear of partnership transactions : they are unanswerable.*’ And again, in 1844 :— ‘ *I observe your antipathy to trade remains unabated.*’

“ In April, 1845, Sir James Brooke was induced, by the personal solicitation of Mr. Wise, to affix his signature to a letter dated the 20th February, 1845, in Mr. Wise's handwriting, and prepared by him. This letter, which is the only transaction upon which the statement that Sir James Brooke and Mr. Wise were partners in business can be founded, contains, amongst others, the following clauses.

“ ‘ In consideration of your services during the last two or three years whereby the Government recognition of my proceedings in Borneo has at length been obtained, I hereby consent to your joint participation with myself in all profits, *arising from my several transactions here*, after the payment to the annual expenses of my estab-

lishment (an estimate of which I have already given you) and of Mr. Ruppel's allowances. Duration of this agreement—our mutual convenience.'

" In March, 1846, Sir James Brooke, fearful from the tenor of Mr. Wise's letters, of being dragged into speculations of a doubtful character, put an end to the agreement, for the following reasons, as expressed in Sir James Brooke's letter to Mr. Wise, of 1st March, 1846 :—

" ' I regret, I confess, ever having entered into this arrangement, because it has, I fear, excited exaggerated expectations on your part, and it might seem to imply that I was desirous of profit, distinct from the advantage arising from the improvements of Sarawak. This agreement was entered into on my part, *with the desire of benefiting you*, and in total ignorance of any extraneous sources of profit accruing to myself, and I now consider it fortunate that the misunderstanding is likely to be cleared up * * * *By this determination our agreement for a participation of profits—an agreement formed on my part in ignorance of the source whence these profits were to accrue—is virtually at an end.*'

∴ Whatever legal construction, therefore, may now be attempted to be placed on the agreement of February, 1845, there is no doubt whatever that Sir James Brooke never for a moment intended, in signing that agreement, to enter into a partnership with Mr. Wise.

No mention, either then or afterwards was made to him by Mr. Wise, that the agreement would have such an effect, or that it could be so construed; on the contrary, the whole tenor of the correspondence between Sir James Brooke and Mr. Wise shows, that after the agreement he still treated Mr. Wise as his *agent*, though with enlarged powers, consequent on his extended confidence; and Mr. Wise, at the time of obtaining Sir James Brooke's signature to the agreement, was fully aware of the 'unanswerable reasons' held by Sir James Brooke against partnership transactions, and of his 'unabated antipathy to trade.' If, therefore, any partnership construction can legally be placed on the agreement, which is denied by Sir James Brooke, then it would appear that there was a fraud on Mr. Wise's part, in indirectly involving Sir James Brooke in partnership, when he could not do so by direct means. However this may be, the letter from Sir James Brooke of 1st March, 1846, conclusively *determined the mutual convenience, put an end to the agreement*, and proves the falsehood of the statement by which the extracts from Sir James Brooke's letters are introduced. Nor can Mr. Hume, if he has sanctioned the statement in the memorandum, be acquitted of a guilty knowledge, as this letter was quoted by Mr. Drummond on the debate, was published with others in full by the Committee on Army and Ordnance expenditure, of which Mr. Hume was an active

member, and will be found in the Appendix to their Report, p. 1229.

“ In August, 1848, Sir James Brooke demanded an explanation of Mr. Wise’s agency, and closed his correspondence with him in these terms :—

“ ‘ I trust that you will fully explain to Mr. Cameron (Sir James Brooke’s legal adviser) the entire subject I have written on, and that the explanation may be satisfactory and conclusive ; nothing will give me greater pleasure. Your expressions have caused some distrust, easily to be removed, and I shall await with patience and a mind ready to judge with candour. I am aware of the value of your services ; *I sincerely wish to retain the same high opinion of you I have ever held*, and to be convinced that my pecuniary interests have not suffered in your keeping. I have been long aware of your *inimical feeling towards myself*, and of your suspicion that I am seeking an occasion to discard you ; but it is not so ; *your opinion cannot influence my conduct*, it cannot make me forgetful of what is due to you for your services ; and after a satisfactory explanation, I shall be happy to see you attain the object of your ambition.’ This object was the success of the Eastern Archipelago Company. (See the whole letter in the Appendix to the Report before mentioned, pp. 1232-1233.)

“ This letter was received by Mr. Wise, in October, 1848, and it will be shown in the debate, that the

inimical feeling towards Sir James Brooke alluded to in it, (in part, perhaps engendered by Mr. Wise's reading a private correspondence which, in 1846, had inadvertently fallen into his hands, and partly from his not finding Sir James Brooke as pliable as he could wish), had been expressed by Mr. Wise, in 1847, to a very few persons privately, and this at a time when he was eulogizing Sir James Brooke in public on every occasion.

“ It is almost needless to add that he has never given, nor attempted to give any explanation whatever.

“ The consciousness of being unable to give it, aided by the inimical feeling above referred to, has taken its usual course, and converted this once zealous and active servant into as zealous and active an enemy ; nor was the opportunity of openly displaying his enmity long wanting.—In July, 1849, Captain Farquhar's attack took place, and in November of that year Mr. Wise threw off the mask, and he, who had visited Sarawak in 1845, and had throughout been cognizant of every act of Sir James Brooke, in dealing with the pirate communities, then for the first time made the discovery of their non-piratical character, and entered into a political partnership with Mr. Hume.”

The following letters, 97, 98, 99, and 100, are taken from a copy of correspondence entitled "A selection from papers relating to Borneo, and the proceedings at Sarawak of James Brooke, Esq., now agent for the British Government in Borneo." These papers were supplied by Mr. Wise, from time to time, and were printed for the use of the Government offices in the year 1846, and now, form a portion of the instructions that have been sent to the Governor-General of India, directing him to issue the commission of enquiry, that has been conceded by the present ministry to Mr. Hume.*

It is submitted that these letters prove two things :—

1st. That Mr. Wise was informed of every step taken by Sir James Brooke, for the suppression of piracy, and particularly of the attacks made on the Serebas and Sakarrans.

2nd. That assuming Mr. Wise's extracts and copies to be correct (for it does not appear that the originals were called for), the Government of the day were themselves informed of every detail, both of action and policy, and, if the whole selection could be given

* It is singular that Mr. Hume should have been able to obtain from this Ministry, what had been thrice denied to him and Mr. Cobden by such decisive majorities of the House of Commons, as in—

May, 1850 . . .	145 to 20,	majority	125
July, 1850 . . .	169 to 29	,,	140
July, 1851 . . .	230 to 19	,,	211

within the limits of this work, with a minuteness that appears to have been almost providential.

It must also be borne in mind that Mr. Wise himself visited Borneo in the year 1845, where he had the opportunity, at least, of comprehending Sir James Brooke's position at Sarawak and his relations both with the neighbouring rivers, including Serebas and Sakarran, and with Bruné; and also that in the year 1847, on the occasion of Sir James Brooke's return to England, Mr. Wise was constantly in attendance on Sir James Brooke, and accepted, *as a gift*, the grant of the right to work the coal in Borneo, which had been presented to Sir James by the sultan.

With these facts it is only necessary to remark, that it was not until the year 1849, and after he had ceased to be Sir James Brooke's agent by reason of his refusing to render to Mr. Cameron any explanation as to his accounts, that Mr. Wise taking the occasion of Captain Farquhar's attack on the Serebas and Sakarrans, stepped forward as Sir James Brooke's accuser, by writing the letter to Lord John Russell, a copy of which is given below,* and afterwards con-

* TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD JOHN RUSSELL, M.P., FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY, &c.

34, Cornhill, Nov. 26, 1849.

MY LORD,

HAVING been the channel of communication in the highly important matters, which resulted in the acquisition of Labuan as a

tinued to aid and abet the attacks that were made on Sir James Brooke's character both in and out of Parliament, by supplying Mr. Hume with such materials as may be found in that gentleman's letter to Lord Malmesbury, wherein amongst other accusations Mr. Hume suggests that Sir James "had committed an act of piracy," and that "his tenure of Sarawak was that of a successful buccaneer or rebel."

British colony, and the appointment of Sir James Brooke as governor thereof, I deem it due to my respect for your Lordship's Government, as also to my own character, to express a deep feeling of regret at the recent dreadful proceedings against some of the Dyaks in Borneo. And I beg respectfully to state that, in common with others who, from much experience in the East, are capable of forming an opinion thereon, I believe such proceedings to be not more inconsistent with Sir James Brooke's previous professions as a Christian philanthropist, incompatible with his duties as Governor of Labuan (upwards of three hundred miles distant from the scene of the late slaughter), and unjustifiable on the ground of justice and humanity, than they are unwise, impolitic, and mischievous, as affecting commerce and civilization, and the high reputation of this country.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

HENRY WISE.

No. 97.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. BROOKE to Mr. WISE, stating his intention of settling in BORNEO.

Singapore, March 31, 1841.

I HAVE not determined on settling in Borneo without mature and serious deliberation, and without seeing a fair prospect of success, and, if successful, of no ordinary advancement. You know me well enough to conceive that it is not only on private views of advantage that I would act, and that I would, generally speaking, seek rather to add to my reputation than my fortune. To develop a large country is a task I should be most proud to accomplish; and whether we look to the benefits which must accrue to the natives, or the extension of British trade, it is equally calculated to rouse our best energies. The country of Sarawak is the finest conceivable, and the influx of Chinese settlers renders its rapid improvement not only possible but certain, if not impeded by unhappy causes which it is impossible alike to foresee or calculate on. Even looking on the undertaking in its worst light, and supposing, that, after a year or two, I find it impossible to accomplish what I so much desire, the attempt will, and must conduce greatly to ameliorate the native condition, and give them a taste for British manufactures, and some appreciation for a just and protecting government.

Some other ways might have been taken without myself engaging in the trade of the place, but, on consideration, though rather leaning to it, I rejected the alternative.

I shall be able to preserve the peace and to increase gradually the exports by giving a fair price to those classes who seek the produce of the soil—in political economy—the productive classes. The great evil, the chief cause which prevents the advancement of Malay countries, is, that merchants and traders must deal with the chiefs or Pangerans, and these Pangerans wring the poor, especially the Dyaks, out of all their goods, without offering any equivalent value; the consequence being, that the population at large will not be at the trouble of working or seeking produce for which they get nothing. I have known produce worth 20 dollars at Singapore, for which the Dyaks received *one* teacupful of salt. Can we be surprised that they will not work? The measures to be taken must be at first purely remedial, and suited to native ideas and feelings. The local superintendence is at present in the hands of two Patingis and a Bandar who *squeeze* the poor inhabitants, and are, in turn, squeezed by their superiors, The Rajah Muda Hassim is, however, opposed to this evil, and, without the energy to correct it, desires to return to the better government, enjoined by their written law, or Ondong Ondong; with his consent and approbation, therefore, I am to carry two reforms

into execution, founded on this written law of the land. The first is, to abolish and forbid all *arbitrary exactions*; and the second, to allow to all classes the right of trade and labour. As a consequence to these changes, a light fixed tax must be imposed on rice, and a salary given to the Patingis, and both the Patingis and the poorer classes exempted from all demands from superior natives. Here I shall rest for the present, and even this a foreigner could not do alone; and in making the arrangements, the rajah is to take the entire responsibility of the measure, and promulgate it, whilst I am to see it carried into execution, by personally visiting and encouraging the poorer natives, especially the Dyaks. I believe we shall have little difficulty in this preliminary and necessary change, as the local officers, as well as the poor, will be greatly benefited by it. I propose sending you a pecul or two of the vegetable oil, which, from the report, may turn out a valuable commercial article. I am told it may be had in large quantities, and the price is low. There are many other mineral productions, which I shall be able to forward during my next trip. To sum up this letter, I may say, that I feel convinced that all men of intelligence will watch with interest and forward my undertaking, which is indeed the only feasible way of extending our trade and knowledge in Borneo. If the Government could be roused to make a commercial treaty with Borneo, or even send a

complimentary mission, with a few presents, it would strengthen the kindly feelings with which the English are regarded in Borneo. For myself I ask nothing ; and if I do make any future appeal, it will be merely on the general advantages likely to result ; and these advantages, commercial, political, and scientific, and, above all, *philanthropic*, must decide the question, one would think with rational men.

I am, &c.,

J. BROOKE.

No. 98.

MR. BROOKE TO MR. WISE.

Sarawak, May 25th, 1843.

MY DEAR WISE,

I HAVE no time to send a long letter, as my life is one of constant bustle.

The "Dido," arrived here a week since, and the day after, her boats (in one of which I was) returned from a cruise after pirates.

We had the fortune to fall in with two small fleets ; the first of five large prahus, each pulling about fifty oars, fled ; the next of six prahus, attacked the boats, and in seven or eight minutes got ten men killed, and twenty wounded, several mortally.

Captain Keppel is now aware of the state of this coast, and I dare say will take measures to suppress the frightful extent of piracy. No one is better calcu-

lated ; for, with plenty of dash, his manners are so conciliatory towards the good natives as quite to win their hearts. Whilst the boats were hunting the pirates, the ship fell in with three of their boats, and was only baffled by shoal water, not, however, till her 32-pounders dashed the spray over them. In a short time we shall (that is, Keppel and the "Dido") be at it again, and I doubt not they will have a good tale to tell.

I am very desirous of putting the trade in Borneo Proper on a sure footing, and I hope to be able to succeed. If Sir Edward Belcher goes there, I have no hesitation in saying he may do what he likes, and reopen a once valuable source of trade.

I enclose you a letter,* received in 1842, but dated August, 1841. You will perceive from it that the very moderate opinion I ventured to express was not without grounds.

These Celebes rajahs are fine fellows, and the Bugis altogether the boldest and most enterprising people in the Archipelago. The former part of the letter refers to my advice and endeavours to heal their internal dissensions. As far as Waju is concerned, I succeeded. * * *

I am, &c.

J. BROOKE.

* The letter referred to Celebes, and is therefore omitted.

No. 99.

MR. BROOKE TO MR. WISE.

Sarawak, May 26, 1844.

MY DEAR WISE,

I HAVE just returned to my country of Sarawak, and within found all well—without, all evil.

We have missed the finest chance of striking a vast blow at piracy: I will tell you how another time. The pirates, the bad chiefs who always aided them, and their bad followers, have regularly turned out against us.

They had turned out to bring the head and worst of these chiefs, by name Sheriff Sahib, from Sadong—his river next door to us—to Sakarran. They had two hundred Dyak boats, head-hunting, robbing pirates, and about twenty fighting Malay prahus, all in a snug narrow river.

I arrived in the "Harlequin" brig of war, having been unable to wait longer for the "Dido." I begged Captain Hastings to strike at these rascals. My boats were ready. Four days would have finished it all; but he was unable, and fancied himself unable to act from the tenor of his orders; such an escape men never had—such a miss of fortune, its time, and tide, never occurred to provoke a man. Yet Hastings I like much as a private friend, he is a noble fellow.

I fear for my Dyaks now : but "*Dido*" will come. I have ordered a gun-boat ; but the rascals will now, from fright, fortify at Sakarran. All are well. We have had an offer from a man of Banjarmasin to rent our diamond river of Santob. A China junk is outside, bound here. The Dyaks are prosperous. Rice abundant and cheap. In fact it is nothing but these rascally pirates that are a curse and dread to the people of the hills, and a bar to improvement. Is it possible that such a state of society should be allowed to continue ? Is there not one pang of sympathy for an innocent race ? Can we get no efficient protection to guard them ? *Is Exeter Hall dumb ?*

Thanks to guns, rockets, &c., we are safe in life and property, and we continue the ruling power. In spite of their boasting, they have a wholesome dread of Sarawak, and one of our boats is a match for ten others. This is the sort of feeling I maintain. I risk nothing. I never fight without being sure of victory.

You must tell the Johnsons and Savages the news. I have not time to write myself. Farewell.

Yours, &c.,

J. BROOKE.

No. 100.

MR. BROOKE TO MR. WISE.

Sarawak, July 14, 1844.

MY DEAR WISE,

I TURN with pleasure from my letter on business to reply to the political portion of yours of the 6th of April, to inform you of our present position here, and to intimate as far as I am able my views and wishes regarding the future.

I may mention generally that Sarawak is prosperous, and fully bears out my former statements even under unfavourable circumstances. No man could witness the condition of the Dyaks at present, and contrast it with their former miserable state, without feeling convinced that much substantial good has been effected. The Malay population has more than doubled; the people generally are peaceful and gain employment; poverty is unknown, and crime very rare. The Chinese are comfortable and peaceful, and gold begins to make its appearance as a currency. Nothing, indeed, could be more favourable than our internal condition, with the exception of the continued residence of the Pangeran Muda Hassim. This Pangeran and his brothers do no actual mischief, but there is a slight tendency to petty intrigue, and a great drawback to native trade whilst they are present, for no native will trust himself within reach of his rajahs if he can help it. No people are more devoted or more submissive to their princes than the Malays, and nothing proves their continued bad rule more than the total alienation of all classes from

them. It is highly desirable therefore to remove Muda Hassim and his suite to Borneo Proper, not only from his being mischievous here, but from his presence being necessary in the capital to uphold our influence there. I hope to effect this through Keppel's kindness, who will, I am sure, give his aid and advice to bring it about, and the advice of a man backed by eighteen 32-pounders is here pretty sure to be attended to. With the neighbouring rivers our grand struggle is approaching, and I am rejoiced that it is so, for it will at once bring about what otherwise might have cost us years to effect, viz., the removal of all the bad and pestilent rajahs and their followers, and the establishment of Sarawak influence and rule over all the contiguous rivers. Good and evil are now fairly pitted against each other, and I repeat again I am glad of it. Heaven help the right! To enable you to understand our foreign policy, I must previously enter into a brief geographical detail. Contiguous to our Sarawak river is the fine river of Samarahan, with a quiet population of Dyaks and Malays: it has been dreadfully harassed by Sheriff Sahib, attacked and plundered by the Sakarran and Serebas Dyaks, and open to the demands of Muda Hassim and his brethren: the consequence is, that the quieter part of its inhabitants have left it, to settle themselves in Sarawak. About fifteen miles beyond Samarahan is the fine river of Sadong; and not far from its entrance was the town inhabited by Sheriff Sahib, called Songi. The interior of Sadong has its Malay and Dyak population, all miserable and op-

pressed to an extreme degree, even to the seizure of their young children and women, when it suited the convenience of their plunderers. A few miles beyond Sadong is the Batang Lupar, within which mouth are the two rivers of Singa and Sakarran. Singa has a population of about one hundred Malays, and is inhabited by the Balow Dyaks, the majority of whom are quiet and good people: Singa has, or had its resident demon called Sheriff Japper. Sakarran has a small Malay population, at the head of which is Sheriff Muller, an elder brother of Sheriff Sahib. The Dyak population are very numerous, and highly piratical, such as I have described in my printed letter. The next river to Batang Lupar is Serebas. The only difference between the Serebas and Sakarran Dyaks is, that the latter have all along been in league with Sheriff Sahib, gaining information, and dividing plunder with him. You will bear in mind that all these sheriffs are of Arab extraction; and if you refer to Sir Stamford Raffles, you will gain the opinion of that high authority regarding the Arabs and the influence they exercise in Malay states. Sheriff Sahib was born in Sakarran whence he proceeded to Borneo Proper, and was there invested by Muda Hassim with the government of Sadong. For many years he was the sole ruler of all the rivers, destroying the Dyaks, oppressing the Malays, employing the Sakarrans on frequent piratical excursions even as far as Banjarmasin, and fostering all the Illanun and other pirates by driving a profitable

trade with them. In short he was entirely beyond the rule of Borneo, and became himself a sovereign prince. My power at Sarawak gave him the first shake, and the arrival of the "Dido," and the attack on Serebas completed his downfall at Sadong. I intimated to him last year that the Sakarran Dyaks would be punished, as the Serebas had already been, for their piracies, and recommended him not to have any further communication with that tribe.

The "Dido's" sudden recall to China alone prevented the meditated attack on Sakarran, and gave Sheriff Sahib time to breathe and to plot. At Christmas, as you are aware, I crossed over to Singapore, and it was then that Sheriff Sahib resolved to remove to Sakarran. On my return here in May, in the "Harlequin," his preparations were complete. Two hundred Dyaks' boats were with him, besides some fifteen Malay prahus with guns. They were posted in a small stream called Sabarangar, at the entrance of Sadong, and cut up and destroyed everything at sea and much on land. The "Harlequin," was, most unfortunately, under orders to proceed home, and Captain Hastings judged that he could not spare four days to extirpate these rascals, in which adventure I volunteered to assist with eight boats. The opportunity was lost; the flood which would have borne us on to fortune, flowed past as sluggishly as any other tide, and Sheriff Sahib, marking his course with rapine, retired to Sakarran. Since then neither party has been idle; his first step was to

send Dyaks to sea, and into the interior of Sadong and Samarahan, where they have burnt eight villages, killed many people, and led away women and children into captivity.

On our side, we have cruised to prevent these atrocities, and have destroyed three of their strong boats. Sheriff Sahib is now fortified at a place called Patusan (or the cut), in the Sakarran river. We are waiting impatiently for the "Dido," and probably the "Phlegethon" steamer, when we shall drive him away from the scene of his iniquities, or, if fortunate, kill him. The Dyaks may be corrected, but the influence of the sheriffs must be entirely broken, and their persons banished.

This once affected, there is no other power, even including Borneo itself, likely to visit or annoy us, and the utmost good will result to every river along the coast, for they will then look to and appeal to us, and we may gently influence their various governments. I have thus given you a long detail of our present position, which I consider excellent; for I do not entertain a moment's doubt about Keppel's acting; and from a letter I received from Mr. Church, I think the "Phlegethon" will come over in company with the "Dido."

I may now turn to your communication of the 6th of April, wherein you give me the substance of what passed on your interview with Lord Haddington. I quite agree with you that Sir ——'s report was unsatisfactory, and I am quite certain that he pos-

essed no substantial ground for making any report whatever. During Sir ———'s stay here, I, at his request, wrote my views on the subject of his mission. Was this letter forwarded? Let me ask, likewise, what has become of the report on Sarawak? I quite concur in all Lord Haddington's views, and I can readily conceive how unfit the present time is, for burdening the public finances, and I shall endeavour, therefore, to save every source of expense. Supposing the Government confers on me the title of British Resident or Commissioner, it will be without salary. To ensure our safety here, is effectively to visit the various rivers along the coast, and to keep open a communication with Singapore and Borneo Proper.

I would suggest a small steamer instead of a sloop-of-war; a small steamer, whose armament should include rockets and shells, would do more towards the suppression of piracy than half-a-dozen sloops-of-war. The commander of the Straits might, at the same time, be instructed occasionally to visit Sarawak, and in case of an application from me, he might, if consistent with the public service, attend to my requisition. Supposing the steamer is unattainable, I would suggest *two gun-boats* (or even one), similar to those at Singapore; one I already have, which is available to the Government. One or two gun-boats, with from thirty to forty men each, would be the minimum of expense, and the force in the Straits would, if occasionally visiting the coast, be sufficient. The steamer, however, is preferable in

every way. The duty of Resident, would, I conceive, be to aim at the extension of commerce, the suppression of piracy, and to attend to British interests generally.

Much might be effected, and I will readily undertake the office, though it reduce me to poverty; but it must be borne in mind, that the development by such small means will be gradual and slow, and not to be compared to the impulse given by the formation of a Crown colony. The gradual development is, in some respects, preferable, and especially in the superior protection it affords the aborigines, for it cannot be denied, that the aborigines is certain to suffer when the white man's foot is set on his soil. You must remember, however, that, in the course of an improved policy, it will be necessary to raise a *de facto* ruler of Borneo, and to support him, and this ruler of Borneo, must feel how totally he is dependent on us.

Again, in raising up this ruler, it will probably be necessary to punish or drive away rivals, and to make the inhabitants of the capital obedient to him.

I will refer you to my letter to Sir — — for more details, and I hope Lord Haddington has already had that letter laid before him. I need add no more, but that I shall willingly undertake, without burden (beyond the amount named) on the finances to carry out this policy, and to push it beyond the mere limits of this coast of Borneo. The only other expense I would suggest would be a few presents, the first time

I went as a man in authority, to visit the capital. This, I believe, is all, and I sincerely exclaim with you, that I trust, ere long, our task will be accomplished.

You will have seen the accounts in the public prints of Mr. Murray's failure and death, in an attempt to found a settlement and open a trade in the Coti river on the east coast. Nothing could be more rash or injudicious than this attempt, and the result might readily have been foreseen.

I forward a Singapore "Free Press," with an article which has roused the Government to the subject of piracy. I wrote it, and I believe the suggestions are to be attended to.

The authorities of Singapore are very favourably inclined towards Sarawak, and it is to be regretted that the governor, Colonel Butterworth, is not conversant as yet with Straits affairs.

We are a very happy party here, and agree exceedingly well. No one could have been luckier in this respect; there is not a bad temper amongst us. Stonehouse is a great acquisition, and has taken charge of the household department. Steward is a great favourite, he lives near me, and is now building his house. Mine is just complete, and is called the "Grove." The situation is beautiful, with fruit and flower-trees in abundance. I count the days till the "Dido" arrives.

I am, &c.,

J. BROOKE.

CHAPTER VII.

JUNE 13TH, 1848, TO DECEMBER 4TH, 1849.

No. 101.

MRS. STUART.*

Government House, Singapore,
June 13, 1848.

MY DEAR AUNT,

I REGRETTED much to hear that my uncle was ailing, but I trust that the coming mail will bring me news of his recovery. I cannot tell you how very comfortable and happy I have been since my arrival here, living with —— and his lady; the quiet, the regular hours, and the warmth of this delicious climate, have quite restored me after the trial of my English campaign and the suffering of the outward voyage—for suffering it really was. Much as I was honoured, and proud as I ought to be of my reception at home, yet there is nothing remarkably agreeable in the retrospect—it is fever and hurry—a delirium of excitement. I

* Wife of Major Stuart of Hillingdon, in Uxbridge.

do not write about home news. Brooke's appointment surprised more than it pleased me—a man cannot have two strings to his bow always—and if he wants to be the future ruler of Sarawak, he must throw away the scabbard and stick by his sword or his government—one or the other. —'s marriage to young — pleases me—they are deeply attached, and I like people to be happy their own way. We, elder folks, are oftentimes too prudent and too worldly. My love to my dear uncle and the dear young ladies, and

Believe me,
My dear aunt and friend,
Yours ever affectionately,
J. BROOKE.

P. S.—Give my kind love to Mrs. Hussey.

No. 102.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.

Sarawak, September 16, 1848.

MY DEAR JACK,

AT length an explosion is about to take place between me and friend Wise. That he has personally hated and inveterately abused me, whenever he dared, I well know, but not this or any mistake or mismanagement would have induced me to discard him, and to force him to an explanation; but it is, what appears to

me, his deliberate attempt to sacrifice my interests and the interests of Sarawak.

* * * *

I shall not detail this hateful subject to you, but I have demanded from Mr. Wise a full and clear explanation, and a final settlement of my accounts, and I have left the entire matter in the hands of Mr. Cameron, our family solicitor for many years past, and I have told him that you may give some assistance. You have, I know, so little time to spare, that I will not give you trouble on my account, but I dare say Cameron will, if you have time and wish it, show you my letters.

My return to Sarawak was triumphant, and the tokens of goodwill and affection from the people most gratifying from being spontaneous. They not only came to sea to fetch me, but illuminated the town the night of my entrance in a very elegant and striking manner, and the shaking of hands and welcomes have been overpowering.

My old enemy Makota has got into power in Bruné, from whence I must rout him out. I have already found him out in friendly communication with the pirates, a clear breach of treaty, and oppressing all the rivers. I am going in these revolutionary times to get up a league and covenant, between all the good rivers of the coast, to the purpose that they will not pay revenue or obey the government of Bruné, until the sultan and his advisers govern justly and adhere to the

customs of the country, and until the government gives protection from the pirates. I have plenty to do, and want, directly Labuan can stand by itself, and the Bruné affairs are settled, to visit Sulu and form a treaty. I am afraid only that my motions will be crippled from want of a vessel, and indeed in the position I am placed, a vessel entirely at my disposal is very necessary for the proper management of the public service. Good bye, my dear Jack, give my kind regards to your wife and the rest of the family at the hospital and at Bridport.

Brooke Johnson Brooke found me the day before yesterday, and we shall, I think, be a happy party. Grant has left the navy, and become my private secretary. Farewell, believe me,

Affectionately yours,

J. BROOKE.

No. 103.

MAJOR STUART.

Labuan, October 3, 1848.

MY DEAR UNCLE,

WE have an opportunity of sending a line, and only a line. I took possession of my government yesterday. It is a wild place and new, but I like it. We

are housed in temporary buildings not uncomfortable—full of business and trouble, but still I like it.

Let them all know that we are well ; and in great haste, with love to all,

Ever affectionately yours,

J. BROOKE.

No. 104.

MRS. JOHNSON.

Government Hut, Labuan,
October 9, 1848.

MY DEAREST SISTER,

I AM this day comfortably established in my residence at Labuan, which consists of three small rooms, the largest about sixteen feet square, Brooke and St. John, and Dr. Treacher inhabit a similar residence next door, and come over to mess here. Grant has a small room here. We four form the family, and I really think when settled down, that we shall be happy and comfortable—the day before yesterday we all started for Bruné in “Mæander,” but the weather proving bad, and the ship carrying sail, she towed her launch under water, and though the two men in her were saved, the gun, and much of the boat’s equipment has been lost. As we were employed clearing this boat and hoisting her in, we descried the “Royalist,” a man-of-war bark, which sailed for Singapore four days ago, returning totally dismasted in a sudden squall. In

consequence of these mishaps, we returned here this morning, and have decided on postponing for the present my negotiation with Bruné, and despatching "Mæander" to Singapore to keep open our communication.

I like this place and I think if matters go well, that it promises to be successful, but it is an arduous task beginning a new settlement in a jungle—everything is wanting, and the people who at a distance foresee no difficulty, are the first to cry out. The climate will prove good in the end, and at present there is nothing to complain of, excepting a few cases of cold and ague, caused by the inclement rainy weather of the week past. The country is pretty, fine vegetation, water and islands, and islets, with a noble range of mountains in the back ground.

The Sultan of Bruné is said to be uneasy at my arrival, and he well knows how he deserves punishment, not only for being caught in direct communication with the Sakarran pirates, but for obstructing this settlement as much as possible; his principal adviser is my old enemy Der Makota, who is a cunning fellow, but one sure to overreach himself. I shall try to make the best of them, but they are a bad and faithless set, and can come to no good.

My plans for the future are to visit Sulu, and to form a treaty with the sultan of that island, if I can get a vessel of war to carry me there. At any rate I hope to get down to Sarawak about February or March,

and when I return, I shall leave Brooke there, to take the command, to become acquainted with the natives, and to find out how far he likes the mode of life.

I hope Charlie has established himself at Portsmouth.

Brooke brought me Charlie's letter from Singapore, and I do not doubt that he was lonely and miserable enough after we left him, dear fellow ; I want to see him a lieutenant, I know not one in whom I have greater confidence than in him, you never appeal in vain to his heart, and he and I have a great deal in common in our natures and feelings. I miss him very much even now, and wish for his company often.

I hope to hear soon from our Mary, and only wait for a letter to write to her, I wish I was rich enough to give her an Arab horse. I had a very kind and feeling letter from Mr. Nicholetts, to which I will reply either by this opportunity, or shortly. You must all remember, however, that this is the Ultima Thule, and we have as yet no regular communication with the rest of the world. Love to dear Charles, and the girls and baby, and with every kind wish,

Believe me, my dearest sister,

Ever affectionately your brother,

J. BROOKE.

No. 105.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Labuan, November 26, 1848.

MY DEAR JACK,

It is, I believe, a long time since I wrote to you, at any rate a long time since I wrote you a long letter, and if this is doomed to be one, I am afraid it will be very like a lengthened complaint of our sufferings and our grievances. Indeed, since leaving dear old Sarawak, which is the pride and comfort of my heart, we have met with nothing but trials.

The great trial, however, is the decided unhealthiness of the place, in Labuan, we are located on. Fever has struck us all, the greater number are miserable weak shadows, and the worst of it is, that no sooner does one recover, than another is attacked, and so the wheel of anxiety and watching continually revolves.

I am still low and debilitated, and slowly recovering, and I have nothing to complain of beyond the rest of them; there are many in my condition, and many, likewise, worse. It is a very strange and remarkable fact in this fever, that though all have been attacked, it has only proved fatal to the lower class of Europeans, and to the Chinese, whilst the better class of Europeans have been rarely dangerously ill, and not a single death has occurred amongst them, whilst the same held good with the Malays and natives of

India, the Chinese alone being sufferers. This I have no doubt arises from the debauched habits of our seamen and marines, and of the Chinese, and in many, probably most cases, other causes have supervened upon the fever, to produce a fatal result. In several cases, delirium tremens, and those amongst whom it has been fatal, are either hard drinkers of poisonous liquors, or opium smokers.

At any rate, my dear Jack, you may fancy the depression amongst the Europeans, and the panic amongst the natives, and you may then judge how fatal it must have been to the progress of the settlement. Report, too, magnifies the evil a hundred-fold, and settlers and citizens will not adventure here, whilst the accounts are so bad, and our calculations have been upset, and our work at a stop from the sickness of our workpeople.

You must bear in mind that we are located on a plain, where there is a considerable lodgment of fresh water, and from the miasma generated from this fresh-water swamp, the fever probably arises. Drainage, no doubt, will remove this, but then, how are we to drain without labour? All this being considered, and convinced that the first thing necessary is to restore confidence and cheerfulness abroad and at home, I have resolved on moving from our present residences, and locating ourselves afresh on the rising ground about a mile and a half from this plain.

The barracks now building are about two miles

from our flagstaff, and the carpenters, thirty in number, at first resided on the plain, and suffered from the prevailing fevers.

I moved these men on the high ground close to their work, and they directly recovered, and have since continued well and cheerful. Other people, Chinese Klings and Europeans, have since been sent up to the barracks, many in a wretched condition, and the same result has ensued, and now our houses are building, and we ourselves shall, I trust, find the change as beneficial, as the others have found it, and regain our health.

With these hopes then, we are living on, and as our health is re-established, confidence will return, settlers pour in, and our attention turned to draining, we shall soon restore affairs, and retrieve the settlement from its present depression. Our barracks, and the road to them, will be completed in three months; by the beginning of April the troops will be established here, with every prospect of being healthy, and as I said before, we shall advance, that is, if other causes do not keep us back. And this brings me to my second lament. I lament the weakness and inconsistency with which the measures of Government are carrying out in detail. It is the curse of the time. It is the curse of loose talk in Parliament, it is the curse of our inefficient establishment, and of divided authority, that our intentions, Government intentions, are strong, and the execution weak: more of this to-morrow, my eyes

dance over the paper, my head is dizzy, good bye, Jack, for I sink from a sitting to a reclining posture.

27th.—To continue. As long as there was only a flagstaff to take care of, a man-of-war was constantly stationed here to guard it, and the orders of the late Commander-in-chief were, that a relief of the vessel should take place, every six weeks or two months, and that the vessels passing to and fro, should keep open the communication with Sarawak. Now that there are the lives and properties of Her Majesty's subjects, as well as the *flagstaff* and property of the nation, this is no longer the case, and by some hocus pocus, some hashing up of what I said, or was supposed to say, in a private conversation, we have been left without a vessel of war; and the party of seamen and marines have become beautifully less, until our whole effective force ashore, amounts to six mariners, and afloat to nine seamen in the "Mæander's" tender; and in this way we have been entirely at the mercy of the natives, either at Bruné or Sulu, who might choose to cut our throats. A steamer is now in sight, whether to stay or not is doubtful, whether it will come to a blow-up, and whether I shall make an onslaught on the naval Commander-in-chief is problematical. I do not personally care for the public service, nor would I retain it a day or an hour, beyond the time that I could be useful. I will not be the tool of feeble measures, and

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I will only serve when the Government itself, and the Government officers act up to their professions and intentions. I have received orders to visit the various parts of the Archipelago, and I apply in vain for a vessel to visit Sulu, whence complaints are made of the destruction of British property. The Government proposes to suppress piracy. I have information of piratical communities, and yet these enquiries cannot be made for want of a vessel!

It is necessary to visit the various rivers to establish and encourage the good, to punish the evil-doer, to develop the resources of these countries by personal inspection, to inspire confidence in the native mind, to afford security for property, to prevent the oppression of the poorer and productive classes, yet all this is not to be done for want of a vessel. Every other nation—the Spaniard of Manilla, and the Dutchman—can command a vessel to further and advance their political views: it is only the British in these seas, who cannot afford a vessel for their diplomatic agents, the instructions of the British Government are alone amongst nations in this far quarter, so much waste paper, and the safety of a British settlement, and the honour of a British flag, are entrusted to the guardianship of six marines and a few seamen!

With Balambangan as an example, they go on in this insane manner, and, *entre nous*, what I know to be true is, that if this weak and imbecile execution of

measures, good in themselves, is continued, it will be continued without me ; for I have never felt myself so much degraded, or my safety and the safety of those about me so thoroughly compromised, as it has been. I am like a fool in a farce with fine clothes and fine names, but I am but a fool after all, and the character does not suit me.

December 2nd.—You will observe, my dear Jack, that my handwriting is entirely changed since I last wrote. I do not like to keep this letter back, and yet in sending it, I must confess that I have been re-attacked with fever, and that I have been ordered to take a cruise in a hurry. I wish you would let my sisters know, just as much of the facts as you think fit, but I can assure you in my own apprehension there is not the slightest cause for anxiety, much less for alarm. You may pity a poor devil with a fever, but you may conclude that by the time this reaches you, your pity will be wasted on a robust animal. Do not pay too much regard to the strong, the very strong expressions in the former part of this letter, written, as you know, under circumstances of irritation, weakness, and a sense of insecurity, and do not imagine that Keppel has any share in measures I disapprove ; we must make the best of affairs, and I shall not continue an account of them till I get strong. Now, my dear Jack, fare thee well, do not entertain any apprehensions about us, and do not let any public clamour

make you doubt the soundness of the measures we are pursuing, if they be properly and vigorously carried out. My love to them all.

Believe me, ever,

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

No. 106.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Sarawak, March 2, 1849.

MY DEAR JACK,

I WAS delighted with your letter of November, and with the one which preceded it ; I will not trouble you with any detail of my affair with Wise, because having forwarded all the accounts and various statements to Cameron, you can, through him, know all about it.

I came down here some fortnight since and found things in a frightful condition. The history is a lamentable one and short, so I will give it you.

The arrangement was made in England that the "Mæander" should be employed for the suppression of piracy, and on this arrangement both Keppel and myself acted. We, in the first place, pledged ourselves publicly to the suppression, and trusting to our force, we resolved in concert to separate the piratical communities from the peaceable ones. The Serebas

Malays, till then doubtful and not assisting the Dyaks in their piracy, immediately went over and urged on the Dyaks with their presence and with their advice. This was the time we required a force of some sort to keep them in check, till the season and our preconcerted measures, would allow us to attack them under the most favourable circumstances. Where was the "Mæander" appointed for this special service? The new admiral, Sir ——— had made fresh arrangements, and the "Mæander" was ordered to China, and the "Nemesis" steamer, the only vessel left on the entire coast—the entire Archipelago—must be employed in keeping open the communication with Singapore.

This morning came the news that a large pirate fleet, one hundred prahus, had put to sea, captured six or seven boats, murdered the crews, and then entered the Sadung river, and there killed upwards of one hundred or more men, women, and children; and within the two months previous they had killed three hundred persons, burnt several villages, and captured numerous prahus. Directly "Nemesis" returns, I shall go out just to check this audacity, but we have not the force to crush the strongholds of these wasps, and their murders and piracies will go on, until we can get one. We must carry on a peddling war, in which we shall be harassed to death, run considerable risk, and with a certainty of paltry results.

March 6.—I close this letter as hastily as I write it.

I have remonstrated strongly at home on the admiral's withdrawal of all naval force, from these seas. How often, dear Jack, I think of the days gone by, when we used to be so much together ; if I advantaged you, when young, how much happiness, comfort, and advantage did you afford me. God bless thee. The day after to-morrow I leave with my prahus, and put to sea next day : it must be done to protect the natives.

Adieu, your sincere and affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

No. 107.

MRS. JOHNSON.

H. C. S. "Nemesis,"
May 17, 1849.

MY DEAR SISTER,

THIS is to say that I left Brooke in supreme charge in Sarawak, whilst I proceed to Sulu to make a treaty. We are all charmingly well, and in good spirits. Brooke may not find an opportunity by this mail of letting you know his news, so I write by a stray brig, we have by good luck picked up at sea.

Ever your affectionate brother,

J. BROOKE.

No. 108.

MAJOR STUART.

H. C. S. "Nemesis,"

May 17, 1849.

MY DEAR UNCLE,

I AM obliged to seize on the occasion of a voyage in a steamer, to acknowledge your kind letter of the 17th February, and it rejoiced me to hear that you continued well. We have now struggled, I trust, through our first difficulties, and shown practically, that Labuan is not a bad climate, though a small portion was so from want of drainage. Drainage is now in progress, and the higher ground on which we are located, has as yet proved so healthy, that a detachment of nearly a hundred men, after being in the barracks for four months, returned to Singapore without the loss of a single life, and without experiencing any sickness. —Not having been discouraged under sickness, we must not now be too sanguine, for there may be periods or seasons, the change of the monsoon, for instance, when sickness may return; but as our works progress it will grow less and less, till it vanishes as entirely as at Singapore, or at Sarawak. It was fortunate that I wrote fully and explicitly on this subject, for such statements had been made, by persons incapable of forming a just judgment, and such exaggerated reports spread, that much uneasiness was felt in high quarters; imagine Sir —, the naval commander-in-chief,

staying six hours ashore, *on the beach*, and reporting unfavourably; a favourable report would have been equally absurd, though not so dangerous.

I am now on my way to Sulu to form a treaty with the sultan, and to counteract the consequences of an intended aggression on that government, if I cannot prevent the aggression itself. I fear the Sulus are too full of fight to attend to my advice, so I can only assist them after their defeat—some vigorous measures and a decided stern tone in our policy has become necessary. To-morrow we reach Labuan, where I stay only three days. We are all quite well. Brooke left in charge of Sarawak. Directly after my return, I trust soon to act against the Serebas and Sakarran pirates. My love, &c., and believe me, dearest uncle,

Affectionately yours,
J. BROOKE.

No. 109.

MAJOR STUART.

Sarawak, November 2, 1849.

MY DEAR UNCLE,

I WILL not allow this opportunity to pass without thanking you for two kind letters, and I am glad altogether to be able to give you a favourable account of my affairs.

The pirate question which provoked and vexed me, is set at rest by the decision of the Admiralty Court. They are pirates, and this must justify all I have done, and more in the eyes of reasonable men.

Labuan likewise has continued healthy, and the two communities of Kanowit and Kompang have separated from their congeners of Serebas and Sakarran, and come in to me, with every assurance of not pirating again. I am therefore building a fort at the mouth of each of these rivers, which, when done, will leave us only with Serebas to contend against, and we are a match for them.

I have been suffering in health, but though weakly I do not fear now much for my life, though my medical adviser has intimated to me, that there is only the alternative between quiet and death. I may be obliged to seek a cooler climate for a time, but I do not think it will be necessary, for though weak at present in body, I do not feel weak at bottom in stamina. Excitement and exposure tell upon me afterwards, therefore I avoid them for six months to come.

Internally, nothing can be more quiet or prosperous than Sarawak. It is a pleasure to me to lead this life of easy monotony. I should like it to last, for it never palls upon me.

My kind love to them all; tell Susan to take in the "Journal of the Eastern Archipelago," publisher, J. W. Richardson, 23 Cornhill, and to recommend it to

her friends ; it is very cheap. Farewell, my dearest uncle ; with every kind wish, believe me,

Your affectionate nephew,
J. BROOKE.

No. 110.

MAJOR STUART.

Sarawak, December 4, 1849.

MY DEAR UNCLE,

MY best excuse for not writing to you before is, the weak state of my health, which has disabled and disinclined me for all work. Repeated attacks of intermittent fever bring me very low, and when I rally, which I usually do rapidly, the least exposure, anxiety, or derangement causes a return of the enemy. Under all the circumstances, and by the earnest request of the medical man, I have resolved (as far as I can) to retire for three months, to the quiet and the cool climate of the Hill at Penang. I feel pretty sure it would completely re-establish my health ; but if the local affairs of Labuan require it, something must be risked for the sake of the public service, and to put them right again.

It appears as if every cause of anxiety had been heaped upon me during the last year—some are past—others passing, and I shall fight through my diffi-

culties, if I recover health. I hope the Government will give me an efficient support. I always have, and shall always fear lukewarmness, and support we must have, or the sooner the Government undoes all that has been done, the better. We do not want much, but what little we have, must be properly dispensed, active, and certain. If it is not so, the Government is wasting its money and sacrificing me, for you will readily see, unless I am really supported, I am clogged in my proceedings. I will not have a repetition of Sir Stamford Raffles' fruitless labours revived in my person. I shall however judge coolly, and fight manfully, and I shall be easy as to the result.

I trust you all continue well, and that you are getting through the winter without inconvenience—I wish Susan, the dear girls, and yourself, a merry Christmas and a happy new year. Here, if we have no family merry-making, we enjoy serene and pleasant weather, and our time passes in a dull but pleasing routine.

I have not room to tell you of my proceedings against the pirates. Serebas has, however, yielded, confessed their piracies, and promised never to repeat them. If we receive some naval assistance, these pirates may be said to be cured of their evil propensity; of course neglect will encourage them to begin afresh. I am likewise building a fort to blockade the Sakarran, and a village to check the exit of the Kanowit, and this

latter can be turned into a place of defence should the people prove faithless. Farewell, my dear uncle ; I will add a line touching the state of my health when an opportunity for despatching this occurs. With my best love, &c., to you, and believe me,

Your affectionate nephew,
J. BROOKE.

No. 111.

REV. CHARLES JOHNSON.

Sarawak, December 4, 1849.

MY DEAREST CHARLES,

I CONCLUDE ere this Charlie has left home, but I send you a letter I have written to him, which, as it contains my news, and our present condition, you can read before forwarding. Let the Savages and my uncle know that I am slowly recovering from one of my attacks of intermittent fever, and that I have, as far as it is possible to do so, made up my mind to retire on leave of absence for three months, to the quiet and cool climate of the hill at Penang. The medical man is urgent with me to do so, and I believe it will be the best plan of re-establishing my health ; but on the other hand the * * * , and the local affairs of Labuan, may render it imperative that I run some risk to advance the public service.

I will not say anything of my future intentions, but

you may rest assured that I will judge coolly, and act decidedly; and as Burke, or somebody else says, "it may so happen that a departure from the ordinary rules of prudence, is sometimes the highest order of prudence."

I am amusing myself with natural history, and daily have animals and birds brought in from the jungle. I propose publishing some of these researches in the "Eastern Archipelago Journal," which I trust you will recommend to your friends, and take yourself—the price is a mere trifle.

We have been much distressed by the alarming illness of Mrs. M'Dougall*—she was seized after her confinement, with puerperal inflammation, and though the worst symptoms are past, and she may be considered out of immediate danger, yet there is reason to fear the ultimate results of the attack on a frame debilitated alike by sickness and rigorous treatment.

Sickness in a small community is always felt; and the loss of a member from amongst a few is a calamity; but in this case, the lady is so much loved and respected, so amiable and so clever, that we should indeed deplore her loss, and despair of readily making it good.

Excepting this, we are well at present, though very shaky and weakly. The place is prosperous, quiet, and dull, and we want no strong internal excitements to

* The wife of the Rev. Francis M'Dougall, the first English missionary at Sarawak.

rouse us—monotony is the handmaiden of prosperity. If I have anything to say when an opportunity of dispatch occurs I will add a line, till then, ever, my dear Charles,

Yours affectionately,
J. BROOKE.

Sarawak, December 3, 1849.*

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I KNOW not whether this will find you at home, but I write to convey our news, and to thank you for your last letter. The fever last year has done us all mischief. Brooke, after suffering and ailing several months, is now recruiting in China, and Doddy and myself go to the hill at Penang by the first opportunity, for change and quiet.

This detestable fever has turned into ague, which none of us manage to throw off, and which recurs on the least exposure, fatigue, or bodily derangement. We have likewise been hardworked, never having been a month in one place during the last year, and I have suffered from much anxiety of mind, from what I cannot but consider as a petty opposition from high local authorities, and the mean calumnies of the press.

You must not think, my dear Charlie, that I *now* take these things much to heart. At first they told upon me—they appeared so infamous, so mean, so base,

* This letter was enclosed in the preceding, and is addressed to Sir James Brooke's nephew, Charles Johnson, Esq.

that they excited the scorn and indignation which every generous mind must feel ; but this has passed, and I look forward with calmness to anything which may occur, and I have that firm self-reliance which can only be derived from pure motives and upright actions. At the same time I am not the least inclined to become a martyr, and I always mean to speak out, and hit hard, when it is worth my while, and can be of use to the public service. My paper is exhausted. Think of me then, my Charlie, as in a composed state, weakly and tottering in body, but with a mind ready to bear whatever arrives, and ready to quit this world, if it be God's will and pleasure. Adversity is a hard, but no evil tutor. Honours, applause, stars, garters, and the like, which men prize so highly, are but artificial means of happiness; and content, peace of mind, moderate employment, the consciousness of doing right and benefiting our fellow-creatures, beautiful trees, a clear gushing stream, books, a little friendly society, these are solid felicities which will only pass away, as sickness, age, and death intrude.

* * * *

Farewell my dear, dear boy, and believe me ever,
Your affectionate uncle,
J. BROOKE.

CHAPTER VIII.

JANUARY 8, 1850, TO MARCH 5, 1850.

No. 112.

MRS. JOHNSON

Labuan, January 8, 1850.

MY DEAREST SISTER,

IF I do not rush into a letter, I shall never be able to write the long one, which you ask and expect. I suffered much during my stay at Sarawak, from repeated attacks of my old enemy the ague, which was firmly established, from exposure during the Serebas campaign. The doctor (*i. e.*, Mr. M'Dougall, our excellent missionary), urged me very strongly to try change of air, and whilst waiting at Sarawak for a ship to carry me away, I had the satisfaction of receiving the submission of the Serebas and Sakarran, the former being utterly prostrate, from their severe defeat, and the latter, frightened by the fort which I

built at the mouth of their river. This great evil, thank God, appears to be drawing to a close; and all along I have been so resolute to crush it, that I have risked life, given money, sacrificed health, and borne with malicious tongues, to effect a great object. I have all along known the extent of the mischief, and the utter folly of expecting to do by preaching, what could be only done by force; you might as well preach the Emperor of Russia out of his ambition, or stop a predatory horde of Tartars with a tract, as turn these pirates from their love of plunder and blood (renown they call it,) by gentle means. *Now*, I can afford to be merciful without sacrificing the innocent to the guilty; and you, my sister, know, that by nature I am neither harsh, or cruel, or likely to misuse the power I possess, by over severity. I am convinced, that men, however strong their impressions of justice and of mercy may be intuitively, or in its unpractised state, rise in their notions and apprehensions of these qualities, by practice on a large scale, and become less apt to confound them. I really hope I improve, and perceive more clearly what is due to my fellow-creatures, and that I have nerve and firmness to do now, what I should have shrunk from, a dozen years ago. I hope too, that I improve in being more regardless of the consequences, which may accrue to myself from acting rightly, and less inclined to follow my bent of adulterating justice by a mixture of spurious compassion. Justice should be tempered with mercy,

but it should never be warped by it. I left Sarawak, always with regret, and in four days was established in my own house here, intending to stay only a week on my way to Singapore and Penang, where I am to recruit on the cool hill. The change has done me good, but the medical man here will not allow me to stay, though my presence is very much required, and I feel myself unequal yet to the duties of the governorship. You must not, however, allow yourself to be uneasy on my account; the ague is dwindling away; my strength increases, and the necessity for my removal is to ensure me from the chances of relapse, which would be serious in my present condition.

During the whole time I have been ill, I have enjoyed a serene and cheerful state of mind, and have kept up my spirits very well. I am obliged, however, to be careful of myself, and have, for several months past, turned teetotaller, against the advice of one of my doctors. It is probable I shall continue my abstinent regimen, which agrees with me very well; only it turns me from a *very pleasant* companion, into a very quiet old gentleman.

My time has been fully occupied since my return, by bringing up arrears of business which ought not to have been allowed to accumulate. For many days, I was ten and sometimes twelve hours, in office, and so weak and worn-out as to be obliged to go to bed directly afterwards. The worst business I have had, is a public inquiry on the conduct of the Lieutenant-governor, during

my absence. Such an inquiry is painful at all times, doubly painful when the object is an old friend.

Labuan, I am very glad to tell you, is a very nice place, and I am certain will turn out to have one of the finest climates in the world. This year, that is, last year, it has been quite healthy; our average of deaths being only three per cent. on the population; about the same average as London in ordinary times, without the cholera infliction. The island is pretty and undulating, broken up by deep gullies, through which run little mimic torrents. I am meditating a house of a more permanent character, than the one I occupy at present, which is, in truth, the very temple of all the winds; on three sides my new house is surrounded by these gullies, and the approach is by a narrow neck of land. The growth of the timber too is very fine; many of the camphor trees being eighteen and twenty feet in circumference (ten feet from their bases), and one hundred feet without a branch. I am writing not of rare monsters, but trees which may be met with during any half-hour's walk. I derive great pleasure, and I think some benefit, from riding, and my pony is one — would envy, could she see him. Half an Arab by descent, chestnut, a thorough-bred little horse in shape, and very handsome and very gentle, with excellent paces. I ride every evening, (and would every morning were I strong enough), the whole extent of our roads, which do not exceed four miles, and parts of that, none of the smoothest or best. There is something

highly interesting in viewing the daily progress of improvement, and the daily restoration of confidence after our late fever; the only thing wanting is money to turn this jungle into a civilized country; for the funds granted by Parliament are but small. We do our best, however, and certainly I am a pattern of stinginess, in distributing the public money. So much so, indeed, that even Joseph Hume might take an example of saving his yearly income. Our first land sale took place, on the last day of 1849, and went off far better than, all things considered, we had any right to expect, realizing about 250*l.* a-year, and upwards of 300*l.* ready money. Our establishment is on so limited a scale, that we shall soon pay the expenses, then luck befriending, we shall rise in the scale. Farewell.

No. 113.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Labuan, January 11, 1850.

MY DEAR JACK,

I HAVE a chequered story to write you of sickness, but of cheerfulness—of trial, and I hope of resignation — of success, without, I trust, undue elation.

My perseverance against the Serabas and Sakarran pirates, was crowned by their total defeat, and subse-

quent submission, but the exposure confirmed an ague, which had occasionally attacked me, since my fever in 1848. I have been struggling against this, but am going to Penang, where the cool hill is to restore me to my wonted health and strength, and perfect the improvement I have already found, from the change from Sarawak to Labuan. This punishment of the pirates, will leave the coast from Tanjong Datu to Malludu Bay, as safe, or nearly so, for British vessels and native prahus, as the channel itself; and it is no small satisfaction to see the good use the natives make of the security of the seas.

I am certain that piracy can be "*put down*," as Sir Peter Laurie used to say of suicide, and I think that the practical results ought to convince people, open to conviction, of the possibility of eradicating a frightful evil.

Labuan, I *consider safe*, as to climate, and very little doubt now exists that, instead of being unhealthy, it will prove as salubrious a climate as Singapore, or any other place within the tropics. The fever originally, being merely local on the plain, and now removed by a very partial drainage. Our average mortality has been three per cent. in the resident population, and two per cent., if we include the bodies of labourers from the coast,—only *one case* of remittent fever has occurred, and only one death that can, in any measure, be attributed to the climate. So far, my dear Jack, I had written, when news reached me

of the arrival of the "Albatross," and I must now bring my intended long letter to an abrupt termination, as she sails to-morrow.

Now, in conclusion, let me give you a commission, but not, I hope, a troublesome one. I wish you to pick me out six sets of law-books—broad, clear, plain, equity decisions, or works on equity, and one or more of useful forms, for law babies—not Burn's "Justice of Peace"—Lord Stowel's decisions, are admirable, in the Consistory Court, and pleasant reading—are the Admiralty decisions as fine? Will you send the list to Willis, the bookseller, in Pall Mall, and he will do the needful, as I have written him on the subject.

Farewell, my dear friend, give my kindest remembrances to Mrs. Templer—a kiss to the young ones, regards to the Priors—the kind friends at the Hospital, and Bridport, &c.,

And believe me, my dear Jack,

Your affectionate and sincere friend,

J. BROOKE.

No. 114.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Labuan, February 1, 1850.

MY DEAR JACK,

I WROTE you by the last opportunity, and now wish to write briefly on the subject of the clamour

raised by the humanity-mongers, as I understand that I am to be personally assailed in Parliament, and the whole policy pursued, is to be called into question.

Is it not rather late in the day to object, when the same policy has been pursued and pursuing ever since Keppel's attack on Serebas, so highly and so generally approved in 1843? Are circumstances altered, or what new enlightenment or revelation have these bastard sympathizers from above or below on the subject, for certainly they have never got any on the earth's surface?

To be serious, however, my dear Jack, here is a fact—a plain simple fact—of the general piratical character of a community, and numerous facts of particular cases of piracy, testified by admirals, captains, and gentlemen in numbers, either from proofs adduced, or from personal examination or experience. There is testimony, more than it is possible to record from persons attacked upon the high sea, and from the very pirates themselves. Above all there is the decision of the High Court of Admiralty in England in Keppel's case, and the recent decision of the Admiralty Court of Singapore, pronouncing these hordes to be pirates. On the other side there is the anonymous information of some person, who *dares* not come forward, whispered into the public ear through the medium of a low newspaper in Singapore, and through that source expanded into some newspapers in England. This is monstrous and absurd enough; but what shall I say

when I come to the particular statements advanced against me—the charge of want of humanity! and the instances about a *toothless* old* man being killed—a party of captives murdered in cold blood, and of my having delivered over a woman and her children made prisoners, into hopeless slavery. These things are untrue of course, and explained in the speech made by me aboard the “Albatross,” and there is evidence enough, Heaven knows, to establish what I said; that is, if people will listen to testimony and decide upon proofs, that the Dyaks who were attacked upon the first excursion through the Kaluka, were on the second, present during the action, when their fleet was destroyed on its return from a distant piratical cruise. The “Daily News,” too, gets out of its depth, when it writes about their being in their “*own waters*,” for the fact is, they were met and attacked at sea, outside their own river, the entrances to which we had guarded. Did you see likewise the extract from my journal in the “Daily News,” where they quote an *evident misprint* of Serebas for Sarambo, evident because I had never seen the people whom I describe as running home in a fright during the war with Siniawan.†

* See the correspondence with the Governor of Singapore, *post.*

† Sir James Brooke was quite right in this: the MSS. journals were in the Editor's possession in England. On comparing the particular passages in the MSS. and Captain Mundy's extract, as shewn in “Mundy's Journal,” from it, it was found, by a misprint, the

However, anything serves a man at a push, or to support a bad cause. I doubt not that the humanity-mongers will cant to their heart's content about cutting off heads, and savage allies, and the like; but the questions to be asked are—"Will you permit the pirates to cut off the heads of all innocent persons, and not allow innocent persons to retaliate? If Mr. Cobden does not like Dyak allies to punish Dyak pirates, let him propose an increase of navy estimates. Would he sacrifice the innocent to the guilty? Would they, by obstructing the punishment of the pirates encourage their depredations? Being suppressed or nearly so by vigorous action, do they desire a renewal of slaughter? Taken in any light, it is sacrificing the innocent to the guilty. On the question of humanity, it may be stated that every step has been taken to save life, and to diminish the cruelty of warfare. It is true that war causes loss of life, and that many pirates lost their lives in fighting or in flight. It is equally true that many unoffending people would have lost their lives had the pirates been spared, and that yearly a slaughter of the innocent takes place. It is demonstrated that

nominate cases had been transposed—the MSS. original being consistent, the extract from it inconsistent. It was, on the face of it, a transparent mistake, as the context clearly shows. It apparently, however, misled Mr. Crawford, who was brought forward to give evidence on this very point before the Committee of the Ordnance and Army Estimates. A single question, had the Committee been prepared, would have set the matter in its true light at once.

the vigorous measures taken by Captain Keppel checked the system of depredation, and for five years greatly reduced the annual loss of life. That a relaxation of severity led to renewed atrocities and renewed depredations, which have resulted in the defeat of the pirates and the loss of life; but this is to be attributed to relaxing from our vigilance. One severe lesson has nearly ended the system, and has led to the submission of the pirates; undo what has been done, and the loss of life, would be yearly larger than it has been to the pirates this year, and with the *slight difference*, that it would fall on the unoffending, instead of the offending.

I may tell you in addition that I offer a reward for every captive made, and pay from five to ten pounds for each; that I have had many this year, that they have been fed, clothed, and lodged by me, and returned to their families and country, as opportunity offered. That women and children are as sacred as in civilized warfare, and that the warfare as a warfare against pirates, is not a whit more severe, or as indeed so severe, as if conducted by Englishmen or Americans against white pirates; and certainly the prisoners were not hung after they were taken. In short, my dear Jack, I have laid out money this year for the *purposes of humanity*, and to check the future depredations of the pirates without loss of life to them; and if I added the presents I have made to native princes to attain public objects,

I have spent the sum total of my official salary of 500*l.* per annum in the last twelve months, and have not devoted it to private uses as intended. I should like to know if —— has done as much with his windy harangues .

Do not imagine, my friend, that this disturbs my repose, properly so called. No man, conscious of right motives, and firm in right actions, is likely to be chicken-hearted, and, for my part, I am no *tame lion* to be cowed, by the baying of a pack of hounds, or the shouts of the huntsman, and I would turn round and rend my pursuers, or give them such gentle pats with my affectionate paw, as to teach them truth and manners; but the misfortune is they are baying on the other side of Lake Atlantic, and won't take water, whilst I cannot.

What would you advise me to do, then? Do you advise patience, or ferocity, or facts, or an action at law? I shall write to Cameron on the latter point, who will advise with you if necessary. Locally, I shall take a few steps, and use every endeavour to drag forward the anonymous opponent, whom I know, or rather can guess, though not able to prove it upon him.

I shall desire the editor of the Singapore "Free Press" to send you his paper whenever they have anything relating to this question. Pay attention to these papers, and place them before the public, and so will I leave the matter in your hands.

I heard from Johnson that he had seen you, and as

he says that you were very busy, and does not say that you were looking unwell, I am in hopes you are strong.

We are getting on very well here, and I expect a cargo of merchants from Bruné, who will open a trade on a large scale, and the panic being away, we shall at once go ahead slick. What the economists can expect in an uninhabited island, densely covered with wood, after one year and a half of location it is difficult to say, but we have had everything to contend against within and without, and I believe we shall overcome every difficulty.

I write in haste, having a great deal to do, and my letter is one of fragments, whence you must glean facts.

I continue better, but my health is not robust, and I shall be greatly improved by a little quiet, and could I get on the hill at Penang, I should in a day or two forget all the bustle, and turmoil, and talk, and abuse going on in London, and enjoy myself with old dame Nature as though I was a quiet, humane, inoffensive creature, instead of a "monster in human form," eating babies and drinking blood, and killing innocent pirates with a gusto appreciated by the autocrat of Russia, and a few other nobs who can afford to hold Cobden cheap, and laugh at the idea of the world being ruled, by a bag of wind or a clap of stage thunder.

God bless thee, my friend, and with my kind regards to Mrs. Templer, and all the dear folks I know or who

know me, and still believe me to be indifferently honest, I remain, my dear Jack, your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. Pray, amongst the law books, send me the forms and procedure of the Admiralty Court, and anything else relating thereto.

No. 115.

MAJOR STUART.

On the passage between Bruné and Labuan.
February 15, 1850.

MY DEAREST UNCLE,

IF I do not write as often as I myself desire, you must attribute it to the multifarious nature of my duties, and latterly, to much suffering and ill-health. A man, so popular as I was, a short time since, ought, as a reasoning creature, to have looked forward to a turn of the wheel of the fickle goddess, and I assure you, I am by no means surprised, at suddenly being converted from something better than mortal man, into a blood-stained, slaughter-loving monster in human form. The comfort is, that as the wheel has turned once, it will, in the course of events, turn again, and bring me from the bottom to the top, and that, wherever the place may be, the value of public opinion is not great, and the censure of faction and ignorance of little moment—I have never courted

popular applause, and I would never turn from my course, in consequence of popular condemnation. I am certain of my grounds—I know what I am doing—I am supported by the consciousness of being of use to thousands of my fellow-men, and I can judge the difference between the good and the bad, amongst whom I live, in the same way as the erudite philanthropists distinguish the police from the swell-mob, or the Lord Chief Baron from a felon. My astonishment is, that all this outcry is raised in the name of philanthropy, and we really must have some new names for the virtues, as opposed to the vices, for fear of their becoming utterly confounded.

I have certainly improved, since my return to Labuan, but I am not strong, and a month or two of relaxation, will be of great benefit to mind and body alike. I shall, therefore, retire to the hill at Penang, as soon as I can get a most unpleasant enquiry on the conduct of the Lieutenant-governor finished. Labuan will get on very well. I have asked Brooke to forward you two newspapers from Singapore, which will explain the state of the place, the difficulties encountered, and the policy in general. I am now returning from the city of Bruné, which is fading already before the star of Labuan—the whole body of Chinese merchants and klings come over in another month, and once an emporium is formed, the trade will increase from the northward and eastward.

The steamer is shaking, and the sea is before us,

so I must bring my letter to a close, by assuring you, my dear uncle, that though beset by difficulties, and suffering from ill-health, I retain a cheerful mind, and look forward to the future without despondency. I trust you will still enjoy health and quiet, and that life may still possess for you many blessings. I am sure that, if it depends on those related to you, far or near, you must be very happy. Give my love to my dear aunt and all the girls. Robert's first trials in India are over, and the subsequent ones are less dangerous. Our accounts of the Nicholetts's are good—they seem quite happy. Brooke is in Singapore, and restored to health by his Chinese cruise. I am now the weakly one of the party, but we are not perplexed and horrified by unceasing sickness in our family—than which, nothing can be more trying to the spirits. May every blessing be with you all.

And believe me, my dearest uncle,

Your affectionate nephew,

J. BROOKE.

P. S.—Pray give my kindest regards to Mrs. Hussey and General Grant.

No. 116.

CAPTAIN RODNEY MUNDY, R.N.

Labuan, February 18, 1850.

MY DEAR MUNDY,

YOUR letter of the 24th November afforded me much gratification, and gave me much information of which I stood in need, for living far out of the great world, I have not seen a single paper either for, or against, my proceedings in Serebas.

I trust the Government will express such an opinion as may set the question at rest, and as for the merits, there can be no doubt in any mind, not blinded by factious or personal motives, or carried away by the false doctrines of a spurious philanthropy. You say I have an enemy; a personal and bitter enemy—and such I fear must be the case, with every man, who is engaged in public life. I know of no man, however, excepting my *ci-devant* great admirer and professional friend Mr. Wise, who is at all likely to be my personal enemy, and he is so because (as you rightly guess) I would not let him manage me, exactly as he thought fit. *The tale is soon told.* Mr. Wise was my agent, and I placed great confidence in his management and integrity, for a length of time. I fear I must say, that my confidence was of too blind a character, and that I did not look into my own affairs enough. About four years ago, I became discontented with some of Mr.

Wise's proceedings, our correspondence sufficiently marks our different views. Matters went on until I found under his management during the monetary pressure, that I was a loser of some 8,000*l.* or 10,000*l.* entirely, and solely owing to his disobedience of the most explicit directions ; and at the same time, I did not understand what he was about—what use he was making of my name, or in what position, he considered himself to stand relatively to me, and my affairs. I might say more, but this will suffice. I immediately demanded an explanation and a settlement of our accounts and referred him to my legal adviser,* but in no unkind spirit, for I said to him at the time that if he would satisfy me, I should confide in him, as I had before done. My legal adviser proceeded in the most conciliatory manner, but Mr. Wise refused to give in the accounts demanded, and threatened to advance claims which he would not make known. Upon this, I was advised to keep quiet, and as my money was undoubtedly lost, not to prosecute parties, who could pay nothing, if cast in a suit.

* * * * *

Luckily I have preserved the correspondence, which has passed between us for some years, and this alone will explain to the satisfaction of every man of honour, and common honesty, his objects—my *temptations*, and my conduct. If I thought it necessary to raise myself in the

* Mr. Cameron.

good opinion of my friends, I would show them a correspondence not uninteresting in itself, and which might serve as a beacon to all men, who may be placed in such a situation. Thank God! I was not caught by the golden bait; and yet a man more eager and sanguine than myself, might have been caught without guilt—he might have been caught by the prospect of an enlarged sphere of usefulness, by the desire of doing good, mixed with an ambition of no evil kind. I escaped partly from my indifference to money, partly from some peculiarity of opinions, and partly, and principally from taking a very decided view of my real position. Early in 1846 I wrote as follows to Mr. Wise, in reply to the tempting offers which he made, to place me amongst the “richest commoners of England,” in wealth a “second Arkwright.” “You,” I wrote, “may rightly reap an advantage from this or any other enterprize of a similar nature; but so essentially different is the position in which I am placed, that I could not do so, without the loss of reputation, not only in the opinion of the world, but likewise in my own estimation. I am pledged to the good government of Sarawak, and I am bound not to risk the welfare of this people, from any motives whether of cupidity or ambition. Should I therefore consent to include Sarawak in an enterprize, embracing many objects, and sell the rights I have acquired to a company, it would in fact be to hazard the prosperity and quiet which exists here, on a project which might fail

in its numerous ramifications, both in conception and execution. It would be to exchange certainty for uncertainty, happiness for money."

I believe I have written enough to convince you that I would not do Mr. Wise an injustice, but that I have given him unpardonable offence in preferring the real interests of Sarawak, and the plain dictates of duty, to the golden baited hook, which he fain would have had me gorge!

Pray show what I have written to Sir ——— or any one else whose good opinion is worth having; I value the opinion of men of honour, but I despise the outcry of a mob of fanatics. I never courted popularity; I derived but slight gratification from being made a lion of—turtle soup and long speeches did not agree with me—the fumes of after dinner eloquence, always stunk next morning like stale tobacco smoke; and novelty and a speedy prospect of release, alone supported me in the course to which I was unaccustomed, and alone suppressed that untameable love of personal freedom, in which my whole life has been passed. As I never courted popularity, so do I not shrink from unpopularity, and I am not overwhelmed or disquieted at the prospect of being set down by the profane vulgar as a "monster in human form," a "blood-thirsty fiend," and such other titles of courtesy as have been bestowed upon me. To be serious, my dear Mundy, I may say that the life I lead, the objects I have in view, and the hopes that

animate me, are not affected by what is said or may be said in England. It requires little philosophy in one of my temperament to bear public odium, when so far removed from it; and a man loved by those about him, is not greatly moved by the outcry or the odium going on in England. If it should ever reach Labuan across the vast Atlantic, I shall pack up my portmanteau, and remove from Labuan to Sarawak. I shall betake myself to my books, luxuriate in my flowers, and try really to do some good to my fellow men; indeed, so mysterious are the ways of providence, that such might be the best for Sarawak, for Borneo, and for myself.

I can send you rather a favorable account of myself—I caught a bad ague, watching night after night, in hard rain, and it brought me near unto death's-door. I felt the springs of life collapsing—the desire of life to be weakened—but care, and a good constitution, have enabled me to rally *this time*, and with the advantage of Labuan air, I have got comparatively strong—not as strong as a lion, yet stronger than I was some weeks ago. The medical men, however, still urge me to try change, to a cooler climate, and, though with some reluctance, I shall proceed, when an opportunity occurs, to Penang, and perch myself on the hill-top. Labuan, like myself, is rallying; the climate, for six months, is charming, and for the other six months, much the same as Singapore. Fever will disappear before drainage, and is limited to the plain,

which bounds the harbour. Health ensured, we shall advance; the Chinese merchants will all move from Bruné in another two months, and we shall then be the centre of trade for the coast, and I have not the shadow of a doubt, the settlement will pay its expenses within a reasonable time. That laggard Eastern Archipelago Company, keeps us back; it does nothing itself, and deters others from coming here, and one of our elements of success, is at present our poison and hindrance. We shall do, however; Sarawak, when I heard, not long ago, was quite quiet, and flourishing, as usual. My nephew, Brooke, has just returned there from China, where he has been on sick leave, never having rallied thoroughly from the fever he caught here. I have not time to give you any detail of my measures for blockading the pirates, as well as reducing them by force of arms. The blockade of Sakarran has been quite successful, and trade is flourishing on the spot where any trader would have lost his head, had he approached. Kanowit, too, I hope, is nearly done for; the people there are not such determined pirates as the Serebas Proper, as they have no Malays to set them on. I shall here conclude, until an opportunity occurs of despatching this bulky despatch, and I may, myself, be in Singapore in time for the next mail.

28th February, "*Nemesis*," off *Link*.—I forgot to mention Mrs. McDougall's dangerous state, and the

fear I entertain that it may cause their retirement. Above all things, I beg of you, to save us from such a one as you say *some* of the committee desire to see at Sarawak. Zealots, and intolerants, and enthusiasts, with brains heated beyond the rational point, who preach in tubs, and display such-like foolery, and who begin the task of tuition by a torrent of abuse, against what their pupils hold sacred, *shall* not come to Sarawak, or if they come, I shall prevent the mischief they attempt at any cost. Whilst our endeavours to convert the natives, are conducted with charity, and appeal for success to time, I am a warm supporter of the mission; but, whenever there is a departure from the only visible means which God has placed at our disposal—namely, time, reason, patience—and that the Christian faith is to be heralded in its introduction, by disturbances, and heart-burnings, and bloodshed,—I want it not,—and you are quite at liberty to say, if that party gain an ascendancy in your counsels, that, for the sake of peace and charity, and to avoid all the manifold evils, which it is impossible to see the extent of, that I would rather that the mission was withdrawn; and that I will not permit any mode of teaching any religion, which is calculated to disturb the public peace, or to shock the prejudices of any particular sect. I will protect the missionary from the zeal and denunciations of the Mahomedan, and I will protect the Mahomedan from the zeal and the de-

nunciations of the Christian, when either the one or the other, threatens the well-being of the community. St. Paul preached and exhorted in season and out of season, but then he was all things to all men—he combined the wisdom of the serpent with the mildness of the dove; and you may be sure, never rashly offended the prejudices of the heathen. His was the highest degree of zeal, regulated by the mightiest reason. Without the latter, the former quality would have been pernicious. If your committee be rational beings, they will never inflict so great a curse upon a peaceful community, as to let loose a fiery zealot upon it, instead of a meek, Christian man. I need say no more.

Singapore. Better—I am pressed by business, as I only knew the virulence and organization of the attack upon me, since my arrival. It will raise me in public estimation, for the public, always chasing shadows as well as substance, finds out the difference when they are in its clasp. Mr. Wise is at the bottom of this.

Your's, my dear Mundy, very sincerely,

J. BROOKE.

No. 117.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Singapore, March 5, 1850.

MY DEAR JACK,

I DO not destroy my letter of the 1st of February, on the subject of the calumnious attacks made on me in the "Daily News;" though, when writing it, I had not seen a tenth part of what had been written or said on the subject; but having now read those rabid onslaughts, and the articles in the "Times" you refer to, I think it as well to send you a bundle of facts, to refute a bag of calumny!

Let me thank you, my friend, for your kind letter, and be assured that I am very sensible of the value of your good opinion, and that of my other friends.

* * * * *

I feel that, if such a system can sway the public mind, and attain its end, that the sooner I retire from public life, and cease all intercourse (except with my friends) with my country, the higher I shall stand in my own estimation, and the less I shall risk that degree of peace which is to be found on earth. I never courted popularity, nor do I shrink from popular reprobation. I do not doubt the good sense of the country, but I begin to feel there is

no distinction—no wealth—no sphere of usefulness, which can repay a gentleman for the disgrace of his name and character, bandied about in the mouths of demagogues.

Now to business. All that is said amounts to this.

1st. The Serebas are *not* pirates.

Answer.—A Court of Admiralty has said they are pirates.

2nd. That these excursions are in consequence of *petty feuds* between tribes.

Answer.—If this be so, these tribes are at war with the Netherland Government, and with every other community, along a coast line of one thousand miles.

3rd. That there is no difference between the Malays and Dyaks of Serebas, and the Malays and Dyaks of other communities, in the mode of conducting these warlike forays.

Answer.—The difference is this, that the other thirty or forty communities do not go to sea on warlike or piratical expeditions, and all live at peace one with another; whilst the Serebas constantly go to sea on piratical cruises, and devastate the other countries; and also that the other tribes do not slaughter indiscriminately, which the Serebas do. (N.B.) when I say Serebas, I mean Sakarran too.)

The other tribes of Dyaks and the communities of Malays, are not at war with each other, or with any one else, but the Serebas are. The Serebas pirate or

war ('tis but a name) on every other tribe and community ; on the Dutch territory ; on the island of Natunas ; on the Chinese, who never retort ; on the Malays ; on the Dyaks ; on their own sovereign of Bruné ; in short, they *pirate indiscriminately*, or they make war against *their world*, and what do other pirates do.

It is true, these tribes are not well armed, but they are as well armed as their opponents, excepting a few Malay communities ; they are *very numerous*, and let these, through the kindness of Mr. Cobden, obtain firearms ; and blood, and *treasure*, soldiers as well as sailors, will be required to cope with them.

The Millanows, the last people attacked at Malo, are a peaceful, quiet, unwarlike race, who can no more cope against the Serebas, than the Serebas can cope against us.

In fact, my dear Jack, I am sick of writing, speaking, or thinking of the subject. The papers I send, are more than sufficient to prove the character of these pirates, and I can give the Government and the public as much more evidence as may be deemed necessary.

Mr. Jackson* is the police magistrate here, and a civil servant of Bengal. When they talk of private motives of gain, and wealth, &c., (Wise's hobby) tell them that I am 10,000*l.* out of pocket by Sarawak ; and that the revenue of Sarawak is like the revenue of any

* A gentleman whose testimony was contained in the papers sent.

other place, applied for public purposes, and if it was twenty times as large as at present, I could dispose of it for public purposes, strictly to advance the good of the country and people, and to cement the foundations of a government, which shall last when I have crumbled to dust. If they say I derive money from any other river besides Sarawak, it is false ! and they must prove it, and besides, every step I have taken is known to our Government, and approved by the rulers of Bruné.

The difference of Sarawak *rule* and Sarawak influence, opposed to native rule, is as light to darkness ; the Malay and Dyak population of all the rivers long for that rule which I cannot afford to bestow on them ; but to advance our trade, to suppress piracy, or, if they like it better, unjustifiable wars and feuds, some influence must be established. I wish I could double the pay of my poor followers ; they deserve it, and are wretchedly paid now.

Farewell, I am in great haste.

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

No. 118.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Singapore, March 5, 1850.

MY DEAR JACK,

HAVING recovered the patience I lost this morning, I proceed to tell you, at your request, the course of action which has been, and is to be pursued. I take for granted that the public is fully satisfied that the Serebas is a piratical tribe. I entertain well-grounded expectations, that their depredations at sea can be entirely put a stop to, and that the coast can be rendered both safe and peaceful. This will be done by the severe lesson they have received, and by a surveillance over them in future, and instead of the brutal inhumanity of allowing this struggle to continue, to the destruction and extinction of Serebas, or of the other communities, to check these pirates and only to insist upon one point, but to insist upon that firmly. We must insist upon their abandoning piracy, and we must force them to do so. The consequences will naturally follow: trade will be secure, these rivers will add their quota to the general stock, and instead of the miserable dribbling commerce now carried on, we shall develop a commerce worth having.

Take Sarawak as an example. It produced nothing when under native rule, now its exports yearly may be fairly reckoned from 200,000 to 250,000 dollars, and the native tonnage yearly at 2,000. Sarawak is

by no means superior to most of the rivers, and greatly inferior to several, and Sarawak is only in its infancy, and as yet has never had any capital to advance its developments, a little good government has done it all; but without going further, if every river on this coast produced as much as Sarawak, we should have a million sterling of exports, and the same of imports, and the greater part flowing to our markets. Bruné is another example in point: when Sir Thomas Cochrane forced them to respect our ships and merchants, it rose to the dignity of an exporting country, and the trade trebled directly. But we must have peace on the coast.

I send you a long paper amongst other papers, written in haste, but the facts will in part be found in the "Free Press," which I send too. It may be of use.

How do you like our church at Sarawak, which is erecting and to be thus?* Adieu, my dear boy. Give my love to all. Going to Siam and Cochin China—and weakly too. It gives me a great press of business. Ever, my dear Jack, I may call you my old friend, though you are but a chicken in law and years,

Affectionately yours,

J. BROOKE.

* The letter contained a lithograph of the new church, now completed.

CHAPTER IX.

APRIL 1, 1850, TO JULY 26, 1850.

No. 119.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ

Penang Hill, April 1, 1850.

MY DEAR JACK,

I AM lodged on the top of this hill, enjoying the climate, as much as my health will permit, and pleased with the repose. The scenery is lovely, the quiet suited to my present state, and to my taste, and the only drawbacks, a rebellious digestion, and the echo of the turmoil from the distant world.

The mere personal attacks trouble me no longer, and in the period of reflection, caused by sickness and promoted by solitude, I can freely forgive those, who have thought it worth their while, to become my enemies, and the enemies of as just and righteous a cause as man ever strove to advance.

I sincerely desire to see my way clearly, and to do my duty, without being influenced by passion or any other base motive, and I am quite certain that the sort of ambition which would influence the multitude, and be attractive to men of my class and rank, would not sway me for an instant; as long as I am out of the world I can set a right value on its distinctions and applause. I would not answer for myself, if drawn into the vortex of paltry ambition or personal rivalry; for I have passions strong enough to mislead me, and an imagination vivid enough to convert tinsel into gold, and to deck the struggle of faction or opinion with the halo of principle. Lucky, therefore, I esteem myself that I am far from the scene of petty strife, and able to devote myself to the performance of actual and tangible good in Sarawak and its neighbourhood.

I will only say one word about the — clique and their abuse. If there is anything advanced, which my friends consider worth answering, will you let me know, and send me the specific accusation to be answered? If you will do this, I shall rest quite content, and I shall not take the trouble to read, what may be said about me, or about the pirates.

2nd. Would it be advisable to print portions of my letters to yourself, to Keppel, &c.*

3rd. If you hear the nonsense advanced about more blood being shed than was necessary, you may men-

* This was the suggestion which led to the present work. See the reasons in the Preface why it was not undertaken before.

tion the fact, that I had it in my power on the morning following the engagement to cut off every soul—some three thousand—landed on the neck of land at the entrance of the Serebas. The ground was known, and the arrangement made and rejected by me, not because the punishment would have been too severe, but because I hoped the lesson received would be sufficient. This is still a matter of doubt, and rendered more doubtful by the silly and unworthy clamour raised in England. The time will come in our country, when no gentleman will serve the public, and your blackguards and your imbeciles may have a monopoly of appointments; though I believe there is not a cozy demagogue amongst the pack, who would lead the life I lead, for double the lucre I receive. It would not suit any of these ranting lovers of peace and popularity, either in its exposure to danger, and climate, or its monotony. What do they know of the jungle, its sights, or its sounds, its intense quiet at mid-day, or its noisy waking at daylight, and at set of sun! Away with them, dear Jack, let's banish them from heart and from mind; let us banish their worldly ambition, their love of pelf, their noisy excitement, the breath of their declamation, the shadows they pursue in the midst of empty sound and turmoil, their calculating heads, and hard hearts; let us banish all these far from us, and look for peace, and beauty, and God, in this lower world.

7th April.—I have been suffering much, dear Jack, since I wrote this, and do not yet write with comfort. I try to bear as well as I can, and not to complain; suffering is good for us all, for it lifts the veil which hides eternity, and makes us desire an existence better and beyond this one.

I am much better, and hope to improve henceforth, but I have relapsed so often, that I have no confidence left that it will be so. Where shall I next go to?

Grant, St. John, the McDougalls, and myself, form our party. The two former are dear fellows, and a great comfort to me; the latter is the clergyman, settled at Sarawak, he is a really good and kind man, and his wife a charming and sensible person. I esteem myself very fortunate in such friends and neighbours.

How are you all getting on? How is your dear wife and the little ones? And how is Bridport and the Hospital? When shall we meet again, dear Jack? I look forward, and I shall enjoy the large house as much as I did the little one.

Tell Mrs. Templer, however, that there is no place like George Place,* and no bottle for drinking Port wine out of, like the George Place bottle, with the broken muzzle. Like the Emperor Baba, I think of these things, of glasses of rosy, and pots of porter after

* Where the Editor lived during the time Sir James Brooke was preparing for his expedition, in 1838, and where they frequently used to meet.

church, but I only think of them, for I blush to say I am a teetotaler. I blush to say so, but I promise amendment as soon as I can.

Say all that is kind to the Priors and aunt Jane, and the Lethbridges, and believe me, my dear Jack,

Your sincere and affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

7th.—I enclose a sketch of myself.

9th April.—I have added a few remarks which may be useful, I am better than I was.

It is said that too much blood was shed !

This is the real story :—

The action was a night action—the pirates were entirely surrounded, and after their first panic, dashed at Point Marrow, and engaged our native prahus guarding it; but failing to force a passage at once, they ran their prahus ashore to the number of ninety, and fled into the jungle. In this encounter several of our people were wounded, and one or two killed, and had the pirates succeeded in their object, they would have escaped. The remains of this large fleet, trying to escape by sea, were cut up by the steamer “Nemesis.” The total loss, during the night engagement, on the part of the pirates, was three hundred men killed, two hundred and fifty of these were killed by the steamer, and fifty by the natives. They could not resist the steamer, but they did engage the natives,

and would not have abandoned their prahus so easily, excepting from the dread of being attacked from the Kaluka side.

I held firm in the Kaluka river, with my division, to prevent any of the pirates ascending it, or returning along the coast to the Rejang. I was ill of the ague when the fight commenced, and during the whole night, information was brought me that a desperate struggle had taken place, between the pirates and our people at Point Marrow, and rumours were rife that we had been defeated! During this time there was no water for our heavy boats between the Kaluka and Serebas, without going a very long way round, and leaving the Kaluka open. The morning assured us of victory. Now, will any one state at what time, the action should have been discontinued? Should all the pirates have been allowed to escape, or half of them, or a quarter, and by what patent means is an action to be stopped at any given moment?

In the morning when the result was known, our fleet gathered together, and with the pirate prahus captured, we moved up the river, passed the Rambas, and ascended the Paku, thus drawing off our force, as much as possible, from the pursuit. Had I taken possession of the neck of land, between Serebas and Pulo, the three thousand men must have fought and been killed, or died of starvation. Had we gone up the Rambas, we might have killed the fugitives by hundreds. As it was, some thirty to fifty of these

fugitives were killed by our stragglers, but how was this to be avoided? stragglers and loose fish are to be found with every body of men, whether European or native; and the number thus killed appears to me exceedingly small, considering the circumstances, and our natives behaved with great humanity.

We had one prahu from Sadung manned by Malays, every one of whom had lost a near relative, killed by the Serebas during the year!

The total number of the pirates destroyed was eight hundred. I received this intelligence from the Serebas people two months after the fight. Of these, the steamer and English boats—

Killed during the action	250
Killed by the natives during the action . . .	50
Killed after the action when on their way home.	50
Died in the jungle or after reaching their homes	450
	<hr/>
	800

and this is what is styled “extermination,” and “wholesale slaughter,” &c., &c., &c.

I know very well that these people are to be reclaimed by punishment, and by kindness, and there is no chance of their being “exterminated,” though there is a certainty of all the poorer and peaceful Dyak tribes being exterminated, if the Serebas and Sakarran are countenanced by the English philanthropists, and encouraged to slaughter their neighbours.

The Peace Society and the Aborigines Protection Society are the aiders and abettors, and advocates of as bloody a set of murderers and pirates, as ever put to sea to cut throats or capture vessels. All that the people of the north-west coast of Borneo ask of these societies, is peace and security for trade, and if the navy and people of Sarawak, &c., are not allowed to deal with these pirates, the Peace Society and the Philo Aborigines Society must deal with them themselves, and if they will act instead of talk, they are very welcome, to have it all to themselves!

N.B. Mr. — says I am actuated by “sinister motives.” What does he mean? Does he mean that I share in the head money, or that anybody with me or about me, or other than the navy, share in what is given them by Act of Parliament? If he means this, he is notoriously wrong. Does he mean, that I gain money from the pirates, or that I have some object to serve beyond the professed and ostensible, and most desirable one? He will find this assertion difficult of proof. The government of Bruné is acquainted and approves of what is done, and to establish Sarawak influence is to establish peace and security, for those who come to Sarawak can judge the tendency of Sarawak influence—the effects of Sarawak rule—the benefits of firm government.

Pray who is Captain Campbell* or Aaron (?) Smith. †
I am obliged, but have not seen their letters.

No. 120.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.

Penang Hill, April 25, 1850.

MY DEAR JACK,

I KEEP this business quite distinct from the private correspondence. Last mail I sent you a number of papers, I now forward a defence, and some other documents, and my correspondence with Keppel, which may as well remain in your hands.

It appears to me, that this paper contains every needful article, but the use to be made of it I leave entirely to you, and in case you think it necessary to see Lord —, I enclose a note to him. The debate in Parliament is probably over, but remember that if a shadow of doubt ever entered, or now exists in the minds of ministers, that *I am* the party soliciting inquiry and investigation.

I would not wish anything to be done without the

* Captain Campbell was a gentleman who addressed the "*Times*" to the same effect.

† Aaron Smith, the captain of a merchantman, who settled a meeting of the Peace Society, in 1850, on this subject, by bearing direct testimony to the piracy carried on on the N.W. coast of Borneo.

sanction of ministers, relative to publishing documents. The paper I now send, *versus* —, might be published as a pamphlet, in which case some of the most striking passages from my correspondence to yourself, Keppel and Mr. Wise in corroboration of the statements, might be added in an Appendix. It would be useless to publish without a name, and mine would draw attention; but the paper is hastily drawn up, therefore it should be prefaced by you, or Johnson, or Mundy, stating that the notes were sent home by me, otherwise the whole form must be altered. However you know what is right and what is best. M'Dougall's letter cannot but have weight, and the copy sent to you is for the papers.

We shall overwhelm them with a mass of evidence, but there is no shaming these fellows, and a gentleman is always at a disadvantage in dealing with them.

I do not heed this attack, but still it surprises me, how — can find it worth his while to abuse me. What possible motive can he have! Envy! surely no man could be so base; at any rate it sinks him in my opinion. Farewell. I shall be writing at the end of the month, till then, believe me, as ever,

Your sincere friend,

J. BROOKE.

3rd May.—I add only at this last moment, do what you like with this enclosed paper, but if you publish, append documents. I send likewise a list of friends to

whom you can distribute, and who can re-distribute. Murray, I should like to be the publisher. Give him my remembrances. Do as you like—that is all. It is a pleasure, dear Jack, greater than the pain of being calumniated to have such friends.—Vale.

No. 121.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ.

Penang Hill, April 29, 1850.

MY DEAR JACK,

IF I were to say that I expected you to do less than you have done, I should do an injustice both to your friendship and to my own, and more, I am sure you could not do, than has been done, and done so judiciously and well.

How shall I thank you, my dear friend? not in words, for I could not express the every day affection I have for you, and much less my sense of the stand you have made, in defence of my character and honour against the reproaches cast upon both, by men, whose motives I cannot even guess at, but whose falsehood and shamelessness and unfairness must ultimately injure themselves, far more than they can injure me. I can only thank you from my heart, and you must judge my heart by your own.

The articles in the "Times" are quite perfect—cool, judicious, and well reasoned upon the ground of general

character, and of the character of the journals as a whole ; I need not say more, for I have sent you so many crushing Cobden documents, both by the last mail and this, that as far as facts go, the question is at rest. It is only necessary to say that the agreement signed (or marked) by the Orang Kaya Pamaucka and fifty-seven houses (more properly villages) has been acceded to by the Patingi, with all the Malays of Lyar and one hundred Dyak villages ; by the Bandar and all the Malays and Dyaks of Rambas ; and by the Laksimana and all the Malays and Dyaks of Puku. In all, by the Malay population of from one thousand to one thousand five hundred fighting men, and about two hundred and fifty Dyak villages, computed at thirty families, or doors to each village (seven thousand five hundred doors), with not less than nine to ten thousand fighting men, and this is but a portion of Serebas people, exclusive of Sakarran, Kagulo, and Kanowit. If it is necessary, you may mention that often and often I have been tempted to foment an intertribal war between Sakarran and Serebas, in order to divert their attention from the coast, that I had the means of so doing (at least I think so), and that I rejected it, as being too bloody in its results. Enough of this, my dear Jack, and I will only add that all this clamour and obloquy does not in the slightest degree annoy or vex me. At first I was indignant and surprised, thinking the shafts came from Mr. Wise's hands. When they were continued I felt sorrow and uneasiness, that any

persons could conscientiously so distort facts, and think so ill of me; but when I discovered that they were personal and spiteful, without reference to truth or justice, my regret passed away. I was prepared to proceed à l'outrance with these defamers, and to defy them to do their worst. They *are asses* to have pushed the attack, with such perceptible malignity and personality; a cooler tone would have answered their purpose better, and probably put me to the trouble of defending myself before a Committee of the House, which after all, would not have been disagreeable, as the country would, I presume, have paid my expenses, and I should have had a run at home. I have just been re-reading your letter, and I do not think I have left one point unanswered, which you require. The attack of Sadong, of Mato, (not the one afterwards attacked, but another so called in the same river,) and the capture of three small prahus, to my certain knowledge led to the attack immediately. Any man who has ever been in action, knows the exaggerated statements of the victors in the flush of success. Aaron Smith's speech and Captain Campbell's letters, I have seen. I have not seen, and indeed I do not get the newspapers regularly, and never see the "Daily News" on principle, because one straightforward answer irrespective of particular quibbles, is quite sufficient. Judging from the time you will receive my last letter, with all the first documents, they will be in time for the Parliamentary attack. Lord —, by the

same opportunity, had the same documents, as well as the letters from Bruné, which ought to be conclusive. When I assert people to be pirates, I am bound to prove it, which has been done ; but when Cobden asserts that unnecessary acts of inhumanity, have been committed, which could have been avoided, he is bound to prove that, against my flat contradiction. In short I cannot see what they mean to stand upon, when our heavy artillery comes into the field, but our forces are like a cumbrous and heavy armed body, having to march a long way, before coming into action, whilst the Cossacks are scouring the country, and levying contributions upon the poor peasantry. Let but the banner of "Beauseant" appear, and the compact body of the Templers ranged in order, and away fly these predatory hordes. There is a complimentary illustration for you ; but there is one argument appertaining to this confoundedly lengthened subject, which is worth presenting to the lovers of humanity. If the right of intertribal war be conceded to Serebas, it must likewise be conceded to the opposite party, *i. e.* Sarawak, and some ten other rivers, and the consequence will be a protracted struggle conducted in the fiercest and most bloodthirsty manner. Reflect on the results.

You ask me whether I come home, as I propose to do next year ? Looking to the state of my health, it will be both wise and proper so to do, and, provided Labuan progresses as favourably as at present, and that dilatory Eastern Archipelago Company comes into

play, I shall be able to do so, for my Sarawak affairs are rising again. I have let, or am about to let, my antimony ore, for five years certain—piracy is at an end, and we are internally and externally happy. If I get through 1850 pretty well, I shall think seriously of moving home, towards the latter end of 1851, or beginning of 1852. I deserve a holiday—my last visit was not a holiday. I shall take Rose Cottage, I shall visit my friends, save money, amuse myself, and attend to no business whatever, and engage in no cumbrous pleasure. We will go together, my dear Jack, to Downe Hall, for our vacation, and let's go over to Sark for a week. But what will Mrs. Templer say? or will she go with us? or will she associate with the "bold, bad man," and the "monster in human form?" I delight in this grand and poetical fame, this sort of dark, mysterious repute, second only to that of a downright pirate by profession! I shall take to wearing moustaches, and carry a pocket-pistol concealed in my vest, which shall peep forth whenever I meet nursery-maids, or other nervous or sensitive persons, and I shall affect a lowering brow and eye unquiet—that sort of satanic, Lord Byron hero sort of look, dear to youth of both sexes, and if Cobden disappears in some unaccountable manner, I shall at once gain the credit of having smothered the jewel of free-trade between two blankets, and burned his remains in some unholy place. To be serious, however, let me give you a brief history of the last month or two.

Imprimis, I derived no benefit from the change here, till I had been tormented with a violent rash, and since then, I have been visibly swelling, and daily improving in health. In a few days I quit this charming hill and delicious climate, for Singapore, and it will depend upon the arrangements of the admiral, whether I go to Siam or to Borneo. I wish to undertake the latter first, as I have much to do there. Labuan must be visited as well as Sakarran, Serebas, Kanowit, and above all, the Kayans of Barram—who are a fine and numerous people, living quietly, as far as piracy is concerned, in their own river. In the interior of the river Barram, is the race called Kunniah, of whose existence I have only recently heard. They are reported as more numerous and more powerful than the Kayans. All these people have sent to me, desiring my friendship, offering to make me their chief, and professing their great desire to be allowed to trade, as the folks at Sarawak trade. They are quite independent of Bruné, and carry on a war against the sultan, and are, year by year, driving in the Borneo outposts (in the interior), and appropriating territory. This intertribal war is not piracy, but if my influence can lessen its horrors, I shall endeavour my best, in hard-hearted cruelty, to do so. The Borneon government deserves little of good at my hands, but I would fain keep them up if I can, and the succession of Muda Hassim's son will, perhaps, afford an opportunity of raising them above their

present miserable position, brought about by their outrageously bad government. Labuan gets on famously. I no longer dread the climate, and let this season but pass over free of fever, and it will be fairly esteemed one of the best climates in the Archipelago.

I must conclude this very long letter—tell your father to talk to me, *i. e.* my likeness, sometimes—the idea gives me pleasure; and give my love to them all, beginning at home, at Greenwich, and ending in Dorsetshire. Thank all the Miss Gordons for the trouble, my correspondence must have given them. This is my birthday, my dear Jack, and after dinner I shall drink all your healths in a bumper of Madeira. I am justly ridiculed, departing from my teetotalism. God bless you, and believe me, ever

Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. Mind you do not let me put you to expense; apply to Cameron for money, if you want it, or keep an account. I enclose a note for Lord —, in case you want it.

1st May.—I have sent the large packet to Mr. —, if it does not reach you, enquire for it.

Amongst the list of friends, I have not mentioned any of your folks, either at Bridport or Greenwich,

because you will see to them. Mundy, and such others as you think proper, will distribute—that is, supposing you resolve to publish and distribute.

No. 122.

MAJOR STUART.

Penang Hill, May 1, 1850.

MY DEAR UNCLE,

I WRITE you a few lines to tell you, I am greatly benefited by my residence in this delicious climate, and that, in a few days, I quit it for Singapore, and thence either to Siam or Borneo.

I have been much engaged and pressed, preparing all sorts of papers for Templer, to confute utterly all the calumnies of Mr. Cobden and the radical faction. It is not prudent to neglect such attacks, or altogether to despise them, and I think there is such a mass of facts and testimony in the hands of Lord — and Templer, that it would silence and confound any one I believe, however, all this outcry will injure the party raising it rather than me, and that there is no reason to apprehend, that it will tie my hands in future, or frighten ministers into a timid policy.

I have been enjoying myself much here; the place is lovely—the prospect finer than any I know in the world—flowers abundant—and perfect quiet. This island is altogether one of the most agreeable in the

settlement ; and the nutmeg plantations of great value ; one gentleman is now receiving a yearly income of 14,000*l.* after paying all the expenses.

I sent Margaret some birds from Singapore by Captain Farquhar, who will, I hope, pay you a visit ; he is an excellent fellow, and my fellow "murderer" —my "accomplice." I trust the General has abandoned his intention of entering on my defence—it must rest on particular and not on general grounds.

Margaret must not mistake the birds for birds of Borneo, or even Asia, as they come from Brazils, all excepting three, which were separate, and came from Sarawak.

I write only to tell you, my dear uncle, that I am much better and feeling quite saucy. I hope you continue well, and dear Susan, and all the girls. I write in haste, and am tired with using my pen, for my public and private correspondence are both in arrears, owing to my illness. My love to all the dear circle, and

Ever believe me,

Your affectionate nephew,

J. BROOKE.

No. 123.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, ESQ,

Singapore, June 1, 1850.

MY DEAR JACK,

I CAME from Penang after a wretched passage of seventeen days, and am now only waiting for the mail to decide on my future proceedings. If I can get a ship, I shall go to Siam, but if not, I shall ask the admiral for the "Nemesis" steamer, and pay a visit in her to Sarawak, Labuan, and the coast.

The admiral is a mild, pleasing, and considerate person, and his only misfortune is, his advanced age, which, however, he carries well.

I have little to say, or rather, I have too much to say, to say it comfortably. If I can go to Siam and get it over, so much the better, if not, I must work on the coast of Borneo. The real truth is, I have too extended a field to work over, and no assistance. There are great hopes of a flourishing exchequer at Sarawak, as we have certainly discovered tin, and if the quantity is workable, it will be a great thing for us all.

I am much better, and have certainly derived great benefit from my Penang trip, but I feel shaky and suffer from the hot weather of this place. I long for Sarawak, I am much attached to it, and I always feel regret, that my employ in Government service, obliges

me to absent myself so much from the place, and the people.

God bless thee and thine, and ever, dear Jack, believe me,

Your affectionate and sincere friend,

J. BROOKE.

No. 124.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.

Singapore, June 12, 1850.

MY DEAR JACK,

To have Lords ——— and ———, as defenders in the House of Lords and the "Times" before the public, and to have you as my commander-in-chief, makes me quite easy; and I treat mine enemies and defamers with a charitable contempt and a magnificent indifference. What a wondrously apt creature is man. How does habit reconcile him to pain, and sickness, and to calumny, and abuse; and as there is a sweet mixed with every bitter, so to be abused and defamed, calls forth a true band of friends in our defence. I can truly say that, whatever pain I have suffered from the wilful falsehoods of my assailants, has been overbalanced a thousandfold by the pleasure of having such kind friends. I will not dwell on these attacks any longer; the clouds of defamation are passing

away, and the truth will dart forth like a beam from the sun.

I am waiting here now for a ship or ships to take me to Siam.

The American mission has totally failed, and will be a beacon to me in my negotiations. The truth is, English folks cannot manage these people, nor Americans either; they want forbearance and patience. I shall not advance to them; I shall not seek to make a treaty in a hurry. I shall try to remove apprehensions and obstacles, and pave the way for the future. The king is old and an usurper; he has two legitimate brothers, clever and enlightened men, who ought to be raised to the throne, and the least help on the reigning sovereign's decease, will place one of them on it.

This done, Siam is opened, really and substantially, to English commerce and capital, and it is a noble country, second only to China. A treaty, extorted by fear (for no other way could we get one) would be but a wasted bit of parchment, unless enforced, and if enforced it must be by arms alone, for as to persuasion it is thrown away with this people. Patience and time are therefore requisite, and, unless they be mad enough to fire upon us, you may rest assured I shall not involve even the remotest chance of hostilities. It is a clumsy style of diplomacy, and with time, perfect sincerity, good intention and scrupulous attentions to the rights of Siam, must have weight; and this is high diplomacy. The Prince Chow-fa-Mungkuk, is an edu-

cated man, reads and writes English, and knows something of our literature and science. His brother, Chow-Fa, is about thirty years of age; reads and writes like his brother; handles a sextant admirably; understands a good deal of astronomy and navigation, has a great mechanical turn, and has himself made a small steam-engine and fitted it in a boat!! And these two are the legitimate brothers of the old savage king, who seized the throne. And are they not worthy instruments?

I am glad to give you a favourable account of my health, but, nevertheless, I desire to return to England for a year's quiet and bracing; and come I shall, if our affairs progress well, and the exchequer flourishes. This place (Singapore) is dull, and not much to my taste; I live very quietly, take my morning and evening ride, and rarely go out or see company. Our party, that is Brooke, Grant, and St. John, is a happy one, but we all prefer Sarawak to Labuan, and Labuan to Singapore. Farewell, dear friend, give my warmest regards to your wife, and all the families, and believe me

Your sincere and affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

30th June, 1850.—The mail will arrive to-morrow, and to-morrow, my correspondence being finished, I fly from civilized life for three days, to the other side of the island.

The latest news is, that Sarawak and Labuan progress very favourably, and the latter is quite healthy.

The American envoy having publicly spoken of the President's letter* and his appointment, it cannot longer be a secret. The envoy, when at Sarawak, congratulated me on the success of my endeavours for the suppression of piracy; and proposed a convention between the two nations on the most liberal basis, giving to the flag of Sarawak, the same privilege in the ports of the United States, as the American flag, and *vice versa*.

I have not seen the envoy, and shall not enter into the convention (which is sufficiently harmless) till I hear from Lord —.

I send you a Singapore "Free Press," with a long article in reply to the "Examiner."

I was going to mention something about the firms of Rappa and Henry, and Moses and Johannes, which are mentioned in the "Daily News," but it is not worth while. The trade of both these firms with Bruné and Sarawak, had ceased before I reached Singapore, in 1839, and their transactions before, were with the native rajahs, cruelly oppressive to the poor in consequence, and one of the causes of the civil war in Sarawak. When, by my exertions, that war

* This refers to a letter Sir James Brooke had received from the President of the United States, addressed to him as the ruler of the state of Sarawak.

was ended, and I became the ruler, they wanted to open this trade on its old footing, and disturb me, which I would not permit. Antimony has since been a revenue, but has always been worked with the free will of those employed, whereas, before my time, it was a forced labour, and very fatal to the Dyaks. The free labourer since I have ruled, has always received double the amount (more than double) he received when forced to work to supply the free trade of Singapore. Our Dyaks will not work. Antimony has always been a monopoly, or more properly, it is a property in the soil, but formerly it was forced work, at half price. Now the property continues in the Government, but the labourer is free and remunerated at double the former prices per ton!

God bless thee. With best love and best wishes,
Your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

No. 125.

Mrs. JOHNSON.

Singapore, June 13, 1850.

MY DEAREST SISTER,

I AM lazy and languid, and the weather oppressive and siroccoish, so I propose only just writing the fewest possible lines to tell you of my arrival here and my great improvement in health. I am now in a weak

state of good health, but a year at home or in any other cold climate, would do me a vast good, and the change must be made ere long.

My proceedings depend on the arrival of the "Hastings," which ship is to take me to Siam; if she does not arrive soon, I shall make a preliminary visit to Sarawak and Labuan, as I have much to arrange there and occupy my attention. The truth is, my duties are now spread over so vast an extent, that it is impossible I can attend to them all. I am inclined to think that the concentration of my energies to a limited field is more calculated to do good permanently, than their present diffusion. My Sarawak affairs improve, and you will be pleased to hear, dearest, that we have discovered *tin*, and if the quantity proves satisfactory, it will be a great improvement of revenue. We are all well. Brooke with us, as he wishes to go to Siam, which I do not. Farewell. With love, ever dearest,

Your affectionate and attached brother,

J. BROOKE.

No. 126.

MAJOR STUART.

Singapore, June 17, 1850.

MY DEAR UNCLE,

I AM in a comparative state of idleness, waiting for a vessel to carry me to Siam, and anxious to

get this mission over, once more to return to Borneo, which is my proper sphere, and where I can do most good. Siam is, however, a country well worthy of attention, and, in a commercial point of view, second only to China, but the government is as arrogant as that of China, and the king, by report, is inimical to Europeans. The difficulty is rendered greater by twenty-seven years of non-intercourse, which has served to encourage the Siamese in their self-conceit, and which has lowered us in their opinion. I shall try every means to conciliate their good opinion, and not force a treaty upon the king, which, when concluded, would be but wasted parchment, if not enforced, and if enforced, would inevitably lead to a war, though a petty one; on the contrary, I consider that time should be given to the work of conciliation, that their prejudices should be gradually undermined, rather than violently upset, and that as we have delayed for thirty years doing anything, that in the course of this policy we may wait till the demise of the king brings about a new order of things. Above all, it would be well to prepare for the change, and to place our *own king* on the throne, and the king of our choice is fortunately the legitimate sovereign, whose crown was usurped by his elder illegitimate brother. This prince, Chow-Fa-Mungkuk, is now a priest, and a highly accomplished gentleman, for a semi-barbarian. He reads and writes English—the latter in a way you may judge of—is instructed in our astronomy—and has a very

high opinion of our arts, learning, and government. This prince we ought to place on the throne, and through him we might beyond doubt, gain all we desire.

18th.—Our party are all well. His highness played at rackets with his suite last evening, and this morning was too stiff to take his accustomed ride at break of day. Farewell, my dear uncle, and believe me ever

Your affectionate nephew,

J. BROOKE.

P.S. I mean to come home for quiet in a year or two. I am glad to say I am better, but I want bracing.

30th.—All well here, and at Sarawak and Labuan—the American envoy has publicly mentioned the letter from the President.

The envoy congratulated me in the President's name, for my success in suppressing piracy, and proposed a convention between the two nations.

No. 127.

JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq.

Singapore, July 26, 1850.

MY DEAR JACK,

I SEND you a further account of my proceedings in Sarawak, and a *jeu d'esprit* with its explanation

attached. I leave these and the previous papers entirely in your hands, but in case you think it advisable to publish pamphlet-wise, I send a list of people to whom numbers would be acceptable.

This I believe sufficient, perhaps more than sufficient.

The Sarawak news is excellent—one hundred Chinese went over the other day, and we have three vessels constantly employed, besides native prahus and occasional craft calling.

You will see by the enclosed, that piracy is not at an end, but Serebas and Sakarran are cowed and quiet. I have been *rather* surprised at an order from the Foreign Office to send copies of my correspondence to Mr. —; of course I have declined, or rather requested to be allowed to act as heretofore, independently, and if not, of course I shall resign. This will not grieve me, for the public service is a *nuisance*, and my time, instead of being usefully employed, is frittered away in trifles, and I hurry from Labuan to Sarawak, to Sulu, Siam, Cochin China, and heaven knows where else; and the truth is, if our policy was as vigorous and earnest as I wish it to be, three men as clever and younger than myself, should be engaged watching our political relations, and suppressing piracy with a strong hand. With my abilities concentrated on Sarawak, and my time devoted to advance its best interests, more good could be done than running from place to place, controlled and fettered,

opposed and persecuted. Remember, too, my love of books, of quiet, of the society of a few friends, the joy I have in nature. Why should I sacrifice these pleasures and feelings, for anything short of a positive and tangible life of usefulness. Men often deceive themselves with the idea of their usefulness, and the value of their services, and cloak under it a warm spring of ambition, but I do not deceive myself. If I am ambitious at all, it is on such a grand scale, as to scorn stars, garters, and coronets. I feel very like simple *honest J. B.!!!* though I am an acknowledged sovereign by the United States.

I shall not mind, therefore, having a fair excuse for requesting my congé, and at any rate when Labuan had advanced, I should not of course continue to hold the governorship. I wish, however, to see Labuan fairly through its difficulties, and these difficulties are caused by the Eastern Archipelago Company, which, from being in Mr. Wise's hands, of course has failed.

I will tell you the steps I have taken from a sense of duty. The charter was granted for two purposes, 1st. For the rapid development of the resources of Labuan. 2nd. That we might avail ourselves of the new branches of commerce opened by *my relations* in Sarawak.

* It appears that in 1848, H. and J. Henderson, of Mincing Lane, and nine other influential firms, offered

* Sir James Brooke was right about this Company. On his return to England he discovered that they never had the capital of 50,000*l.*,

to lay down the 100,000*l.* required by the charter, and that their capital was withdrawn in consequence of a misunderstanding as to the remuneration to be paid to Mr. Wise for his privileges, *his individual rights*, said to have been granted by Government. Mr. Wise contended that the Company should be formed first, and his remuneration be afterwards discussed; the capitalists, that they must clearly know the amount and shape of remuneration before they stirred. Thus for Mr. Wise's sake, the public object was wrecked, and the confidence of the monied world lost, and since that time the Eastern Archipelago Company has been a bubble, and unable to rise to the dignity of a Bankrupt Company.

This story tells itself: after urging Government to render the Company effective, I have, in consequence of Mr. M'Gregor's (Chairman) speech and Wise's known enmity, come forward with all this history, and said, that I look with distrust and suspicion on the character and conduct of the Company as at present managed.

Of course this is a public and not a private story,

which five of their directors, including Mr. Wise, certified to the Board of Trade that they had; and hence they had been unable to carry out any of the objects for which they were incorporated. The subsequent steps, which terminated in the repeal of the charter by a judgment in the Queen's Bench, are shown in Sir James Brooke's letters to Mr. Drummond (*post*); which judgment has since been confirmed on error.

and the evils attending a collision between the Company and myself, must be apparent. It is monstrous, however, that the public purposes should have been postponed and lost sight of, to suit the pocket of Mr. Wise. This must recoil upon Wise, and if Messrs. H. and J. Henderson are now allowed, they will still take the Company in hand, and produce the necessary capital, but they will not have anything to do with him.

I have been completely humbugged, waiting for a ship to carry me to Siam, but the "Sphynx" has arrived at last, and directly the mail arrives, I propose starting. I should not have waited for the mail, only it will, in all probability, bring the decision on Mr. —'s case. I want to get this off my hands.

The other day I brought an officer of the "Nemesis"* before a Court of Inquiry, as the author of the statements which first appeared about the expedition in April, 1849. He got off, from the prevarication and shuffling of one of his brother officers, but the case is still before the governor of India. The man I do not care about punishing, but this Court will enable me to show that these gross statements, could only have come from a seaman before the mast, or that they were invented. I will send you the papers.

I have written all this in great haste, as I want to close my letters to get to work on the Siam question. I send you some of the "Free Press" numbers; the fight between the Dutch and Chinese at Sambas must

* See vol. iii. p. 25, note.

benefit Sarawak. The Chinese *require humbling*—they will be safe subjects afterwards. Farewell—a thousand kind wishes are with you and your wife, and the young ones, and Bridport, and the Hospital. If I was a curry-and-rice-king, I should write of pleasant things; but now it is the hammering of business.

Ever your affectionate friend,

J. BROOKE.

31st.—I have written to you about *my correspondence*—but it is probable that, after all, you have never seen this correspondence with Mr. Wise.

I send you this correspondence, marked “private.” It is providential that I should have kept these letters. You will observe how striking they are, and how I have saved Government from all the disgrace of such a Company; for it would readily have been got up before the monetary pressure in 1847.

We are off to Siam directly.

Ever thine,

J. BROOKE.

CHAPTER X.

THE following passages from letters addressed by Sir James Brooke to Mr. and Mrs. Johnson, are extracted to avoid the great length, which the insertion of the whole of the letters would involve. The parts left out either relate to family matters, or are repetitions of what is published in the other letters.

Sarawak, October 21, 1845.

Two facts, I may mention regarding Sarawak, which will prove to you, the development which has taken place under a protective government. Three years ago, the population was gaunt with famine; this year, the river has exported 500 tons of paddy, and has plenty remaining.

One year ago, there was no native trade, or in other words, the native rajahs were here, but during the last six months we have had 110 native prahus, re-

ported at our office, without taking into account those not reported, and all smaller fry. These facts speak trumpet-tongued for themselves; but on the other hand, with the increase of our population and trade, we have had more frequent petty thefts, and I am just now urging stringent laws against thieving. No person moves at night without a light, and each comping or parish, ought to have a watch. Gambling—the source of petty thieving—I have struck at: but I believe, nevertheless, gambling and petty thieving, are almost as necessary a consequence of security and a large population, as light is a consequence of the sun; we may check it, but to prevent it is impossible.

Sarawak, January 10, 1846.

WE passed a merry Christmas and new year. On New Year's day we had the Sarawak grand regatta, for boats paddling, and the long canoes carrying from twenty to thirty men each, level nearly with the water's edge, made an excellent race. Thirteen boats entered at the start, the flash of the paddles, the water thrown up, and the wild yells of the paddlers, was really interesting and novel. The young ladies would, I dare say, have thought it alarming. This is at present our rainy season, seldom a day passes without a brief deluge, and now and then the rain descends thick and heavy, for five days together—the river swells and rolls majestically down—the sun shows

himself not, and the inhabitants keep quietly in their houses. You describe your evening employ in August last. Here I am on this 10th day of January, seated alone at an open window. Time 1 P. M. The sun gleams out by fits and starts, a pleasant breeze shakes the plantain trees close to me, and they whisper a gentle music—the air is cool—the thermometer stands at 82°. From my seat I glance with pride over my well-filled book-shelves, or turn my eyes upon the soft green without; roses, and jessamine, chumpaka, and kenangee (flowers sweet-scented, you know not), the produce of the garden, are placed on the table, and throw their odours around. This is the 10th January, I am seated alone, my letter draws to a close; and then I get into my boat and cross over to the opposite side of the river, to transact business in office and in court.

Shall we (you ask) see you soon in England. I reply,—If the ministers think my presence necessary or advisable, before they place me in charge of a new settlement, of course I shall return. If not, I remain till I feel quite sure I may absent myself for a year, without injury or risk to Sarawak.

How glad I should be to enter the green gate unperceived, knock at the door, enter the parlour, and see you all stare at the old way-worn weather-beaten stranger.

Singapore, January 16, 1848.

I MAY tell you that Sarawak is flourishing, and much increased ; but I should be very glad to have Brooke there, for it would give stability and confidence, one of us being at the head of affairs ; for no other person can supply the place of the legitimate ruler, and though legitimacy be ever so much out of fashion in Europe, it still maintains its sway in Malaya. The missionaries arrived safe and well some little time ago, and on Tuesday next sail for Sarawak. I like them ; and now, though so near the field of their labours, they continue rational and reasonable in their views. Heaven speed them !

Singapore, June 1, 1848.

YOUR letters cheered Charlie and myself ; and I rejoiced with my whole heart to hear that our dear — was strong and happy.

I know that all of you will be happier, as well as —, now that this affair is decided on ; and the young people will, even supposing no cadetship turns up, wait, with a moderate degree of patience, till we can look about us, and see what is best to be done. — is a very good fellow, and you must thank him for his letter, which I cannot answer this mail, but which I was pleased to receive.

I do not write to Brooke, because I presume he is on his way out ; but, should he be still with you, tell

him it was a mistake asking for the A. D. C.-ship to me. There is a higher destiny for him than holding my cocked hat, as I mean at once to place him in charge of Sarawak, and he will gradually be the real effective representative of his uncle. Tell Charles I hope he will write me his long letter ; he is a better correspondent than any of you. Charlie is quite well, and Doddy.* I leave Charlie to give you the news of the ship. Everything prospers at Sarawak, and we have good prospects for Labuan. That Doddy is sitting close to me, and (did that) kicking up a row, and bullying me.

Singapore, June 11, 1848.

I WAS delighted with your long letter by the last mail, detailing all your successful exertions to start Brooke and Mary Anna. At first I was not greatly pleased, and vastly surprised at Brooke's appointment ; because I thought it might look like taking advantage of the kindness of Ministers, pushing for an appointment, for which there is certainly no shadow of occasion or use, but it is satisfactory that no salary is attached to the A. D. C.-ship. It will give Brooke a fair opportunity of judging and choosing for himself his future mode of life ; but it will never do to let him remain in the army, should he once decide upon casting his lot with mine. At any time a

* Charles Grant, Esq., Sir James Brooke's Private Secretary.

war might oblige him, for honour's sake, to leave his duties at Sarawak, and for years I might not see him when I most required his assistance, and when his presence would be most needed. He must ultimately decide on one or the other; and, as I said, he will have an excellent chance of judging whether he can be happy in devoting his life to the government of Sarawak. He must not tumble between two stools, or two professions. I shall be delighted to welcome the dear fellow, and have him up, fine clothes and all, to Labuan, to live in a hovel and fare sumptuously every day, on rice and curry and curry and rice, and grilled fowls and salt fish.

July 4th.—All well, and preparing for a start in a few days. Anxiously looking out for Brooke.

Singapore, June 20, 1850.

BROOKE's pony made a tremendous sensation in Sarawak; crowds, I understood, followed him in his evening promenade *à cheval*; and some of the natives wanted to know if the pony would ever have horns. We suffer from very hot weather, but are in a large house on the beach, anxious, however, to be off to Siam.

Singapore, October 7, 1850.

THANKS for your letters. I reply in haste, and on business. First, I have written to Mr. Cameron

about Martha, and I would not have her otherwise than quite comfortable for all the world. Will you arrange it with Mr. Cameron. Secondly, I want to surprise Templer, with a present of my picture in full size, in oil; Mr. Grant knows a gentleman, who copies his pictures, and you might get him down, when London's dull, and Grant hunting in Leicestershire, to copy it at Lackington, and Grant himself, I am sure, will get it framed in London, when it can be forwarded to Jack Templer. Tell Grant, with my regards, what I have here written, and I am sure he will give his assistance and advice. Thirdly, I left a miniature of myself with Templer, ask him for it, and ask my aunt to give it as a present to me. I value it on private accounts, as it shows my path over the hill-top from the foot. Get a copy of this miniature for my friend, Dick Coxe, and let me know—then by some safe hand, send it to me. Brooke will give you the news, eight *British vessels* now between this and Sarawak. Five thousand Chinese are come in, or coming.

We are off soon there. Will you do this with secrecy and discretion, and tell Templer I forgot to mention about the miniature, when writing to him this *morning*. Mind its only half-past eight now—I sometimes begin to work at four A.M. We are obliged to Mr. Hume.

Sarawak, November 8, 1850.

DIRECTLY we return to Sarawak, we are beyond the limit of regular communication, and though the date is early for the December mail, yet we may not find another, and I will not miss it, because Brooke will not avail himself of it. On Monday last, Brooke and Crookshank proceeded up the river, to visit all the localities inhabited by the Chinese, whilst I went up the Quop to see some Dyak tribes. The result of our labours is now very apparent, and though there are some defects, which have crept in during my protracted absence, yet on the whole, it is gratifying in the highest degree, to witness the plenty and the comfort, which now reigns amongst tribes once the most wretched conceivable. These tribes have now reached the tip-top of Dyak ideas of happiness, and the next step is to inoculate them with some ideas, better than their own. To-morrow I join Brooke at the farm at Leda Tanah, and we confer together in grand conclave with the Chinese settlers. The future government, taxes, and powers, of the gold-workers is to be arranged, and as many of the new-comers as we can in any way persuade, are to be brought down here to be located, or sent to Sundu. A few good nuclei will enable us to manage the Chinese and allow them to increase. The sugar plan is an excellent one, and will bring Sarawak as high as I wish it to be, during my lifetime. This year, trade has vastly increased, and next year we may safely anticipate an increase of

revenue, and an excess of revenue over expenditure. Yesterday we had five vessels under English colours, laying in the river taking in cargo. Our amount of tonnage will be greatly increased by the returns this year. All goes on well as we could desire, but next year I must not absent myself, and the year after, in that case, I may get home. I feel, however, very well at present.

Sarawak, December 7, 1850.

I SHALL not write you a long letter, because it is a business one, relating to our future plans.

I heard, with great regret, from my uncle, of your being frequently ailing, and there seems to be only one opinion, amongst your friends, about the advisability of your leaving Lackington, for a time, and seeking relief in a change of climate and mental amusement and relaxation. I am convinced that this change will be highly beneficial to you all, and, moreover, advantageous to the dear girls, but I am aware that there are many difficulties, and that the greatest one of all, is to have an object in view whilst travelling, which is really pleasing and exciting to the mind. Listen, therefore, to my short history, and then decide whether the plan laid down, will not meet every end in view, and afford pleasure and rational gratification enough, to set you all moving.

I have had a renewal of intermittent fever, and he

prostration of strength consequent on it warns me of the consequences, if I seek not a total change. I am so useless likewise, and so unable to go through, what I am called upon to do, that I obey the dictates of prudence, and in February next, leave Singapore for Malta. From Malta, at the end of March, I shall cross to Naples, and from Naples travel northward with the spring *viâ* Rome, Florence, Milan, to Geneva.

On or about that famed lake, I propose halting for a season to enjoy myself, and to luxuriate in the beauties of Switzerland. You require change, why should not Emma and yourself with Harry and Emmy* meet me on the shores of Lucerne. The journey there by Paris on the Rhine is nothing, and when you get there, take a house, or establish yourselves comfortably near Geneva, on the lake, or near it, and I will join you, and we can enjoy ourselves in a thousand ways, free of care and of the world. We can fish, and walk, and ride, and visit all the renowned scenes in the vicinity.

Now is not this a charming plan, and will it not induce you to adopt it, to derive all the benefit it promises. You are not more than myself, a denizen of cities, but there we shall have lakes and mountains, glaciers and chalets, waterfalls and woods, and devil's bridges, and castles and convents. Freedom, in short, and exercise, and air, and pure water, and none of the petty restraints of society. I think this will tempt you.

* Sir James Brooke's nieces.

Now, for a few details : Letters to the Poste restante at Rome, Florence, Milan, and Geneva, will reach me. The weather in April will be genial, and if you start the middle of April, and travel lazily, looking at everything worth seeing, you will be at Geneva in May. One house, if moderately large, will hold us all, or two, if one cannot be found to suit. There are advantages and disadvantages of having an establishment of our own, but I leave it to you to choose between it and a pension. Charlie Grant will come with me, and one servant. My motions will, of course, depend upon yours, but, in June, I should, at all events, be at Geneva ; nor am I bigoted to Geneva, should you prefer any other Swiss place, or Como Lake. Thus I have propounded my scheme, which Brooke thinks a famous one. My absence for eighteen months from Sarawak, will be of advantage to him, it will accustom him to govern, and accustom the people to look up to him as their ruler. I am wretchedly weak, but otherwise, not ill—this weakness is a bad symptom if I remained, but a little bracing air will remove it. Farewell.

J. BROOKE.

The following letter, and the observations which accompany it, show Sir James Brooke's views of the position of Europeans in a foreign country with respect to the laws :—

GENTLEMEN,

As it is necessary for the proper government of the country, I hereby appoint you to act as magistrates, during my absence from the settlement, in all questions which may arise between members of the European community, or between any European and a native.

Three magistrates will form a board, and sit one day in each week, or oftener, as circumstances may require; and in case of any difference of opinion arising, the majority will decide all questions brought before them.

The police magistrate will attend the board on all ordinary occasions, to offer such explanation on each case as his previous inquiries, may enable him to furnish; but he will not become a member of the sitting board, or vote on any question, unless one of the three members, should from any cause be absent, or unable to attend, when he will supply the place of the absent member.

Should it arise from any unforeseen events, that a board cannot be formed, the power of hearing and deciding all cases will revert, as heretofore, to the police magistrate; and whether it be the decision of the board of magistrates, or of the police magistrate, I enforce upon every person of the European community, a strict and implicit obedience.

As before stated, the power of the magistrates is limited to questions of all kinds which may arise between Europeans, or between an European on the one hand,

and a native on the other ; and if it be necessary, the board of magistrates may impose a fine, suitable to the circumstances of the parties, for any misdemeanour or other offence.

Should the case arise that, subsequently to the powers now bestowed on the magistrates by me, any European should resist their authority, or refuse an implicit obedience to their decision, the magistrates are empowered, without any reference to the station or circumstances of the individual, to send him out of the country by the first opportunity which may occur ; and by a stringent exertion of their authority, to inflict a suitable punishment for so grave a crime.

With three English gentlemen acting as magistrates, I feel assured that justice will be fairly and impartially administered, and on leaving you to perform this serious duty, I beg to recommend to you a conciliatory, but firm course of conduct.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your obedient Servant,

J. BROOKE.

To ———, and ———,
and ———.

OBSERVATIONS.

I wish before my departure, to note down for the guidance of the magistrates, my apprehension of the

grounds, on which their authority rests, and the best mode of exercising it, when called upon.

The European inhabitants of Sarawak, in my opinion, are living by their own consent in a foreign country, to the laws of which, good or bad, they are bound to yield obedience, and the only redress open to them, is an appeal to Her Majesty's Consul-General, or other properly constituted authority, in case their persons or property be wrongfully injured, contrary to the laws and usages of the country. They are bound to become acquainted with these laws, and their ignorance can never be offered as a plea, for resisting or evading them.

As the case notoriously holds between one nation and another in Europe, it must I apprehend be applied to all the acknowledged nations of Asia, whether great or small, and therefore any redress sought by the British local authority, for a case of wrong done to a British subject, must be from the Government of the country, and not from any individual. Failing to obtain the redress sought, the only alternative is to proclaim war on the government which wilfully and wrongfully has committed an outrage on a British subject or on British property.

It is clear, however, that no government acting only up to the letter of its own laws and institutions, can commit a wrong on a foreigner, residing in the country subject to these laws—for to seek redress in such a case would be to seek an alteration in the laws of a

foreign country. For instance, should a Frenchman, residing in England, commit a robbery, it would be no just cause of complaint, that he was sent to Norfolk Island, according to the laws of England, instead of to the galleys, according to the laws of France. It is only in case of wrong done contrary to law, that redress can be sought by a British subject.

I have enlarged on this point more, probably, than was needful; but the right understanding of what follows, greatly depends on this pivot point being established clearly.

The second point is, that living as Englishmen under the laws of a foreign government, which we are bound to obey; those laws may be inapplicable in some cases, and in others, too severe and cruel to apply to civilized and intelligent men. For it will be evident, that restraints necessary to be applied to a demi-savage would ill suit a civilized man; and therefore that it is far preferable to obtain from the government, a right of self-governance according to our own superior idea of equity, than to be subject to the operation of laws formed for a very different state of society.

This privilege, in the present instance, has been granted, and the European community is to be governed by three magistrates, their own countrymen, appointed by the consent, and with the authority of the English ruler of the country, and of its native chiefs.

The authority of the magistrates is derived from

the government of Sarawak, and is dependent on it; for as Englishmen formed into an independent community, they cannot legally exercise any authority without a commission or warrant from the Queen.

In the present case, therefore, it is the dependence of the magistrates on a foreign government, and the commission they derive from it, which constitutes the basis of their authority, and in like manner the rest of the British community are bound to pay due obedience to that authority, not because they have any authority or peculiar right as Englishmen, but because they are legally executing the laws of Sarawak under commission.

It is not, therefore, I repeat, any inherent right as Englishmen, or any peculiar privileges of being governed by English laws, that bestows authority on the magistrates, and forces obedience to that authority from the members of the community, but a power derived under commission from a recognised government, allied by treaty with England.

The magistrates are not, therefore, bound to administer justice according to the letter of the English law, but to judge in equity between man and man, upon the broad and immutable principles of justice, and the community is bound to obey the laws in equity thus administered, because they are the laws of the country. I can scarce imagine any mode by which the substantial ends of justice could better be arrived at, in a small community, than the administration of

three persons who are guided by an impartial and cool judgment, and not likely to be swayed or tempted by any external evidence. To such a court the multiplied forms, rules, motions, notices, and technicalities of British law, would be a serious detriment and hindrance ; in rejecting all such, as inapplicable and useless clogs, they will retain the grand foundation of British law, which is the eternal principle of justice.

I conclude by remarking, that impartiality and coolness are the highest qualifications in a magistrate sitting in judgment, and that when a case arises between an European and a native, that it will require the exertion of both these qualities ; as there must exist a natural tendency in every breast, to lean favourably towards the side of a countryman ; and patience and coolness will be requisite to elicit evidence from the natives, in cases when they are opposed to an European, in consequence of the operations of fear on their minds, and the dread they may entertain of the consequences of so doing, to themselves. *

I trust to the general agreement of the magistrates to these remarks, and that the duty imposed upon them will be easily performed ; for every man brought up in a civilized community, must be aware that it is the bounden duty of every citizen, cheerfully to yield obedience to constituted authority.

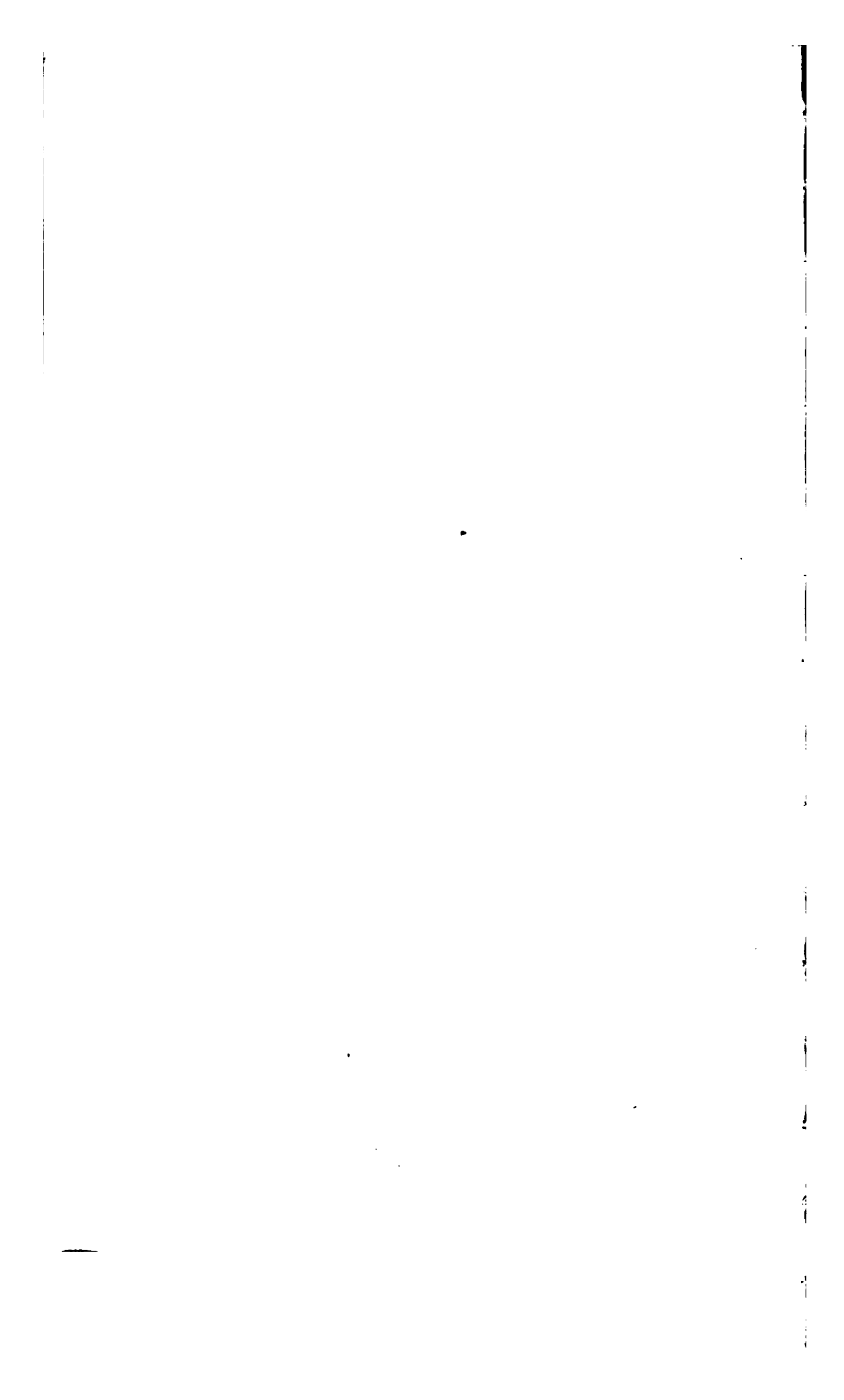
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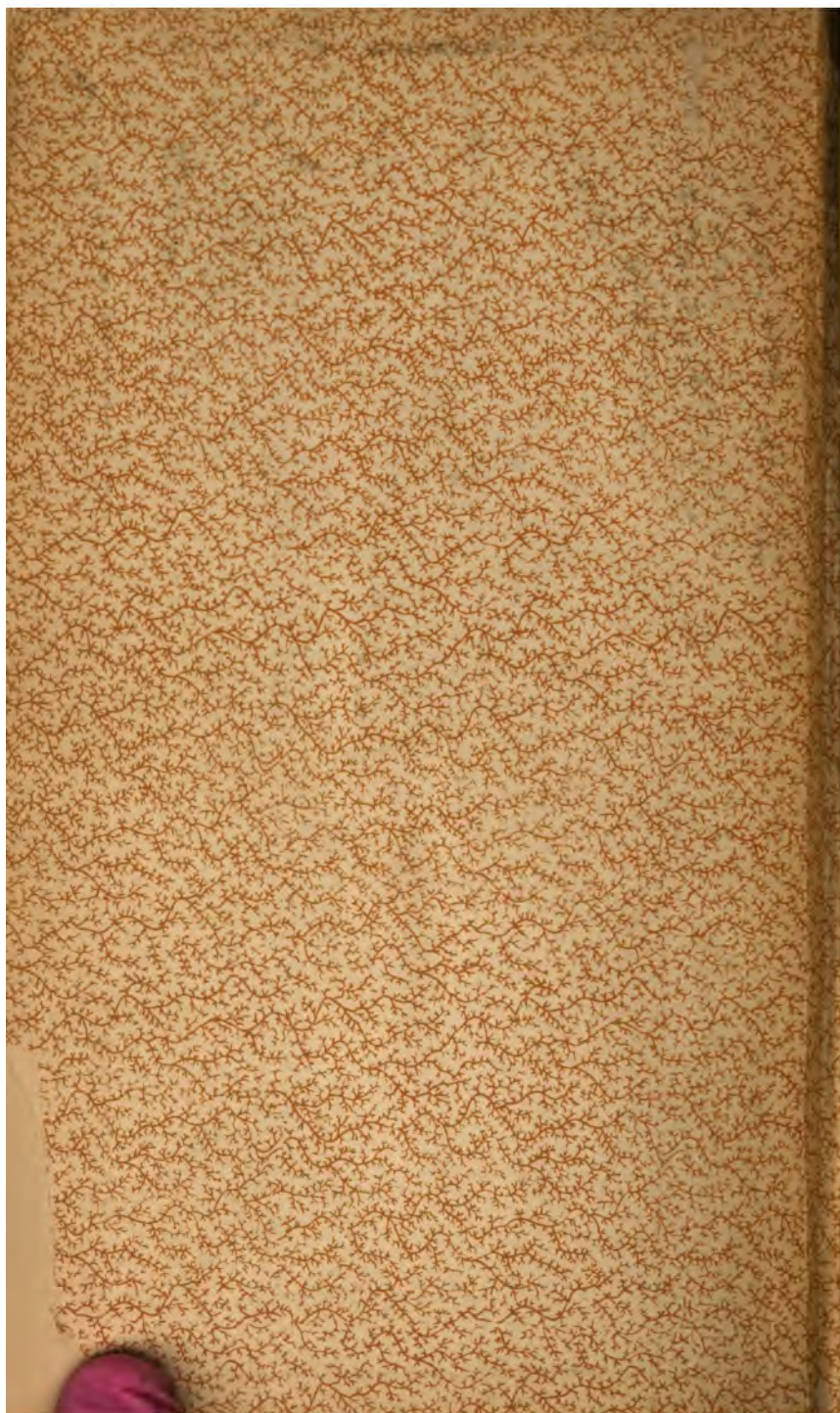
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